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ABSTRACT

These four reports of recent research and policy studies are the four top-rated papers from a national competition open to graduate students enrolled in doctoral programs in various social disciplines or recipients of degrees in 1980. In the first monograph, "Job Skills and Youth Unemployment," historical and current evidence refuting the assumption that lack of job skills is the principal cause of youth unemployment is presented. In the second report, entitled "Employer Involvement: a Study of Public and Private Sector Linkages to Youth Programs," the involvement of employers in 29 exemplary in-school demonstration projects is examined. A review of literature on the job search behavior of American workers, with emphasis on youth job search techniques, a statistical analysis of the labor exchange process, and policy prescriptions for improving such services to youth constitute the third report, "Improving the Labor Exchange Process." "The Counseling Needs of Migrant Adolescents in Vocational Training Programs," the final paper, examines a pilot study exploring the idea that migrant adolescents in vocational training programs have counseling needs unique from other minority and non-minority adolescents. (MN)

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# YOUTH EMPLOYABILITY

## MONOGRAPHS ON RESEARCH & POLICY STUDIES

The National Center for Research in Vocational Education
The Ohio State University
1960 Kenny Road
Columbus, Ohio 43210

CE028590

1980

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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## FOREWORD

The National Center for Research in Vocational Education is pleased to present the winning entries in a national competition conducted to identify original research and scholarly papers on the subject of youth employability. We congratulate the graduate student-faculty teams who authored these papers, and thank them for their contributions to an area of vitally needed knowledge. The papers demonstrate a clear commitment to solving a serious societal problem.

We also extend sincere thanks to those who critiqued the entries and selected the winners. These distinguished reviewers were: Dr. John O. Crites, psychologist, University of Maryland; Dr. Rupert Evans, vocational educator, University of Illinois; Dr. Luther Otto, sociologist, Boystown Research Center; and Dr. Henrietta Schwartz, anthropologist, Roosevelt University.

James Pearsol, of the National Center, who planned and organized the competition, has now left for doctoral studies of his own. Allen Wiant, Research Specialist, succeeded him as coordinator and editor of the winning monographs. Frank Pratzner, Acting Associate Director of the Research Division at the National Center, was the project director. Funding for the competition was provided by the National Institute of Education.

Robert E. Taylor
Executive Director
The National Center for Research
in Vocational Education

# PREFACE

Youth unemployment is perhaps the most troubling aspect of the current unemployment problem in the United States. The unemployment rate for all age groups currently stands at approximately 8 percent of the total population. For youth, the unemployment rate is estimated to be twice that figure; and for black youth, in particular, it is estimated at an astounding 34 percent. What are the reasons for these disturbing figures? Employers, economists, and social scientists all have contributed perspectives on youth unemployment and employability development.

In an effort to identify recent investigative evidence about youth employability, as well as to recognize future leaders in research, the National Center for Research in Vocational Education, with the support of the National Institute of Education, sponsored a national competition for scholarly papers from doctoral students. The papers were to be reports of recent research and policy studies, and were invited from the various social science disciplines including psychology, vocational education, sociology, anthropology, and labor and human resources.

Graduate students enrolled in doctoral programs or recipients of degrees in 1980 were eligible to enter the competition, with their degree program advisor or another departmental faculty member serving as their coauthor. Entries were submitted to a panel of distinguished judges from the various social sciences areas. These judges individually reviewed and rated the entries on the basis of their scholarship, usefulness, and quality of writing. This monograph contains the four top-rated papers from the competition.

It is our hope and expectation that this competition and monograph will be the first in a series of such annual events to serve as incentives and vehicles for stimulating and recognizing scholarship and future leadership in education and human resources research.

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This document presents the winning entries in a national competition for monographs reporting research and policy studies on the topic of youth employability. The competition was conducted in order to recognize excellence in research by doctoral candidates, and the topic was selected for its timeliness and potential contribution to the research concerns of the National Center for Research in Vocational Education. Eligible authors were doctoral students, with faculty advisors serving as coauthor. Winning entries were determined by a panel of distinguished judges external to the National Center, and representing several branches of the social sciences.

In an analysis entitled, "Job Skills and Youth Unemployment," Kenneth Gray and James Herndon offer historical and current evidence to refute the assumption that lack of job skills is the principal cause of youth unemployment. They argue that industrialization has reduced skills required for most entry level jobs and led most firms to prefer to do their own job training, and that high unemployment, the preference of primary firms for older workers, and socially condoned instability of youth are the main barriers to youth employment. Assuming that youth are no more important than other working populations and that short-run economic improvement is unlikely, the authors suggest that policymakers should concentrate on tactics that reduce the number of sixteen to twenty-two-year olds in the labor market.

Steven Johnson and Ray Rist, in a study entitled, "Employer Involvement, A Study of Public and Private Sector Linkages to Youth Programs," examined the involvement of employers in twenty-nine Exemplary In-School Demonstration Projects. Among the findings and recommendations were the following: (1) face-to-face contact was the most successful means of acquiring employer involvement; (2) hiring staff familiar with the community enhanced a program's ability to acquire work sites; (3) use of program youth to locate work sites helped reduce staff workload and increased the number of potential work sites contacted; (4) advisory councils were instrumental in facilitating program components; (5) program implementation was severely handicapped by understaffing and late program start-up (i.e., beginning after the start of the school year); and (6) few employers would have participated had youth wages not been subsidized.

Stephen Mangum and Robert Goldfarb suggest "Improving the Labor Exchange Process" as a means of alleviating youth unemployment problems. Their paper commences by reviewing the literature on the job-search behavior of American workers, with

emphasis on youth job-search techniques. Then the recruitment side of the labor exchange process is statistically analyzed. A basic incongruency between the ways people search for and find work and how employers recruit is indicated. The incongruency is shown to be particularly acute in the case of youth, especially minority youth. The paper concludes by presenting policy prescriptions for improving labor exchange services to youth. Among them are job search assistance programs and modification of the role the the public employment service.

A paper on "The Counseling Needs of Migrant Adolescents in Vocational Training Programs" by Lucy Savage and Charles Matthews reports a pilot study exploring the idea that migrant adolescents in vocational training programs have counseling needs unique from other minority and nonminority adolescents. The responses of thirty-three migrants to the Mooney Problem Check List (MPCL) were compared to those of rural black, urban black, and nonminority control adolescents. Significant correlation between the migrants' and other samples' ranking of the eleven MCPL problem areas was not found. The authors, therefore, suggest that (1) needs assessments should be carried out prior to implementation of vocational training programs geared toward specific populations and (2) minority students should not be psychologically lumped together on the basis of their social status.

# JOB SKILLS AND YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT
# ANALYSIS AND IMPLICATIONS

Kenneth Gray and James Herndon

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Kenneth C. Gray was awarded an Ed.D. degree in vocational education by Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in June 1980, and is now employed by the Connecticut Department of Education as assistant director of the Division of Vocational-Technical Schools. Dr. Gray holds degrees in economics and counseling education, and has twelve years experience as a teacher, guidance counselor, and administrator. Dr. Gray's coauthor, James F. Herndon, is professor of political science at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, where he has taught since 1967. His background includes a variety of administrative and public service positions, in addition to extensive activity as both author and consultant. His achievements have been recognized by Who's Who in America.

## HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS

### Introduction

The specter of large numbers of unemployed youth has long affected public policy. In the late sixteenth century, the plight of the new urban poor was a major social issue in England. A simplistic rationale emerged that explained this phenomenon and suggested a solution. People were poor because they did not have jobs, and they lacked jobs because they were without appropriate job skills. The skills-employability paradigm emerged to suggest that the solution to reducing youth unemployment was job skill training. Thus, the 1601 English Poor Law authorized the involuntary indenturing of poor children to the apprenticeship (Seybolt 1969, p. 15). The early American colonies copied the English solution to youth unemployment. Concern for the large numbers of "unregenerated youth" was one reason why the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in 1647, enacted the Old Deluder Satan Act, the intent of which was to foil the devil by keeping youth educated and employed (Stephens and Van Til 1972, p. 4). The 1642 and 1647 education laws of the Massachusetts Bay Colony also allowed the indenturing of children who were not receiving training in "learning and labor" (Cubberly 1934, p. 16; Monroe 1940, p. 34). The skills-employability paradigm became a part of the American conventional wisdom. Job skill training became the cure for all wards of the state. In the mid-1880s industrial education was the most common educational program offered for institionalized orphans, poor children, and delinquents (U.S. Bureau of Education 1885, p. cxciii). Judges frequently voiced the opinion that young men turned to crime because of lack of job skills and promoted training for youth (National Association of Manufacturers 1907, pp. 125, 127, 131; 1909, pp. 21-22).

The industrial revolution reinforced the apparent validity of the skills-employability paradigm. It was widely believed that the new mass production methods increased the level of skill required of all workers. Turn of the century progressive reformers concluded that urban poor children could be helped by teaching them job skills. During this period, the YMCA conducted training schools in urban cities (National Association of Manufacturers 1909, pp. 21-22). Settlement house workers, such as Jane Addams and Florence Marshall, worked both at the local level and within the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education (NSPIE) to increase training opportunities for boys and girls (NSPIE 1907; 1908, p. 4). Job skills, especially of the manipulative type, were seen as a guarantee against unemployment and poverty.

A modern-day youth unemployment rate, estimated at 13 percent or more--and over 30 percent for black youths, prompted the Carter administration to propose new youth initiative legislation ("How Much Emphasis on Vocational Education?" 1980, p. 588). Indicative of the sensitivity of this administration to youth unemployment, the president's bill called for a new billion dollar expenditure, despite overall efforts to present a balanced budget to the congress.

The purpose of this essay is to examine both the historical and the present validity of the skills-employability paradigm as an explanation for youth unemployment. "Unemployed youth" is defined as sixteen to twenty-two year olds who may be high school graduates but, typically, have not had any postsecondary training. The current emphasis on reducing youth unemployment suggests the significance of such an investigation. We begin with a review of the historical evidence concerning the effects of the American industrial revolution on the level of entry job skills. Next, research will be examined that speaks to the current need for prior job skills to gain employment. Finally, other possible variables in youth unemployment will be examined, policy implications discussed, and several policy options offered.

## Job Skills and the Industrial Revolution

While some eastern United States manufacturers experimented with mass production in the eighteen hundreds, the country as a whole entered the industrial revolution around the turn of this century. Between 1890 and 1910, capital investment in manufacturing grew from 17.4 to 31.5 billion dollars (U.S. Department of Commerce 1975, Series 173-176, p. 685). Following the recession of 1893 to 1896, manufacturing grew steadily through 1906.

One phenomenon related to this industrial expansion was a merger wave that occurred between 1898 and 1899. While in 1896 only 26 businesses reported consolidation, a record 1,208 were reported in 1899 (Porter 1973, p. 78; USDC 1975, Series V41-53, p. 914). Many of today's large corporations were formed during this period. This merger wave established at least two levels of manufacturing, the large trusts and the smaller middle level manufacturers. Importantly, mass production was more common among the large trusts than in the middle level companies.

## Importance of Job Skills

It is not surprising that turn-of-the-century progressive reformers concluded that the new industrial order called for workers with more advanced skills. Milton Higgins, a Worcester, Massachusetts manufacturer, told the 1903 meeting of the National Education Association (NEA) that, "contrary to the opinion, hastily formed the requirements on the workman had greatly increased" (National Education Association 1903, p. 597). This theme is common in the correspondence of manufacturers who supported the formation of the NSPIE in 1906 (Gray 1980, pp. 104-107). A Connecticut manufacturer complained, "Do you know it is almost impossible to get boys with a fair education, to serve apprenticeships to the different trades" (Brown 1906). So pressed was the state of South Carolina that it opened a recruitment office in Belgium (National Association of Manufacturers 1907, p. 200). Yet, for all this may say about the need for training in job skills, the evidence is suspect. Milton Higgins and other manufacturers who were promoting industrial education were from the middle level companies only; the large corporations of the time were not among those promoting the expansion of public training (Gray 1980, pp. 165-167, 196-197). Further, as suggested by Fried of Harvard, manufacturers were able to use unskilled southern Europeans and rural Americans only because most jobs required very little expertise (Fried 1973, pp. 27-35).

The industrial revolution saw the widespread adoption of mass production technology. As Adam Smith taught, an important advantage of mass production was that expensive artisans could be replaced by cheap unskilled labor. And, as historian Paul Violas suggests, the division of labor so reduced the level of skill needed by most workers that these men and women could be trained almost overnight (Violas 1978, pp. 3-5, 129-130). By 1923, Henry Ford reported that over 85 percent of the jobs in his factories could be learned in less than a month (Violas 1978, p. 4). In the Paterson, New Jersey silk mills, the skill of a weaver was measured by the number of looms he or she could run at one time and not by an artisanship or mechanical skill.* The personal experience of Samuel Gompers, organizer of the American Federation of Labor, demonstrates the de-skilling of the work place. Gompers was drawn to the labor movement by the hope that it might prevent the destruction of his trade, cigar making, by the new machines and the unskilled "Bohemians" who ran them (Livesay 1978, p. 23).

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* Ethel Carter, daughter of a Paterson, New Jersey silk mill foreman: personal interview with the author at Paterson, New Jersey, July 20, 1979.

## The Changing Meaning of Skill

One reason for the misconception that industrialization led to an increased demand for skilled workers is the failure to recognize that the definition of skilled workers had changed. At the turn of the century, manufacturers frequently spoke of the need for the skilled mechanic. Many have erroneously concluded that the skilled mechanic was a general term that referred to a number of artisan-type occupations. Evidence suggests that the term instead referred to production foremen and repairmen who fixed the new machines when they broke down. Frederick Taylor, in 1902, defined the skilled mechanic as a person who was able to be a factory foreman (Fisher 1967, pp. 87-90). Prior to the industrial unions and the appearance of the shop steward, the foreman was a powerful person, critical to the production process. As the number of factories grew, the demand for individuals with broad industrial knowledge and supervisory skills became acute. Between 1900 and 1920, the number of manufacturing foremen grew 228 percent. Likewise, the number of repairmen grew 284 percent during this period. The total number of workers in these occupations, however, was always small in relationship to the total work force. In 1920, foremen and repairmen combined amounted to only 11 percent of the total craft and operative work force (U.S. Department of Commerce 1975, Series 233-682, p. 143). It is a mistake to conclude that the rhetoric about the need for skilled mechanics in any way indicated an increase in the required skill levels of operatives.

What were manufacturers looking for in the entry level worker? The record suggests that after 1900 industrialists were increasingly interested in workers' behavior on the job more than in their job skills. Often cited in support of this view is the report of the Massachusetts Douglas Commission which stated:

> There is a lack of skilled labor in industry. This lack was not chiefly of manual dexterity . . . but of industrial intelligence. (Bennett 1937, p. 513)

"Industrial intelligence" can be summarized as the understanding by workers of the need to be reliable and cooperative. Evidently, these attitudes were not held by the independent rural transplant or the southern European immigrant. The findings of the Douglas Commission were corroborated in 1909 in a study conducted by Gustaf Larsson, a manual training educator. In a national survey, Larsson (1909) asked manufacturers what qualities they looked for in the youth they hired. He reported that "very few mentioned skill or special technical training as being of prime importance" (pp. 393-401). Most of the manufacturers looked for behavioral traits such as honesty, good attendance, intelligence, and the like.

## The Growth of Industry-Based Training

Industrialists were less interested in the skills of entry level employees partly because they were becoming increasingly interested in doing their own job training. Those promoting formal public job-skill training as a way to reduce youth unemployment sometimes argued that the industrial revolution killed the apprenticeship system, and in doing so eliminated the only institution through which youth had learned a trade. But it was incorrect to assume that as the colonial type of apprenticeship declined nothing replaced it. A 1907 study of apprenticeship in America, by Carroll Wright, president of Clark College, clarifies what really happened.

Wright (1908) found that a new type of apprenticeship system had developed in the Midwest and Northeast. Often called the modern apprenticeship by the manufacturers, this new system substituted the company for the master, who had taught his skills to the apprentices. Apprentices received training on the job and in classrooms at company expense, sometimes entering into an indenture agreement. Of critical importance is that the modern apprenticeship system developed in those industries where high levels of skill were still important. Federal employment data for 1900-1920 lists twenty-one different apprenticeship programs that cover almost all the skilled occupations (U.S. Department of Commerce 1975, Series 233-682, p. 143). Wright found that the modern apprenticeship system did not exist in the mass production textile and shoe industries, but was common in the middle level machine building companies. Thus, in those industries where advanced skill was still important, a system was in place to teach these skills. Employment in these industries, however, depended not on having prior skills but on getting into the apprenticeship system, a fact which was not missed by either labor unions or employers. Gradually, during the first twenty years of this century, most manufacturers developed their own training programs (Gray 1980, pp. 165-167).

Despite their early support for public industrial education, manufacturers became increasingly skeptical about training that took place outside of the factory or shop. The trade publication American Machinist consistently opposed the concept of public training in school shops (American Machinist, January 3, 1909). The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) abandoned its support of the trade school in favor of the continuation school model partly because in the latter training took place on the job (Gray 1980, p. 133). Surprisingly, even one of the most vocal supporters and promoters of public vocational education, Charles Prosser, secretary of the NSPIE, wrote:

> I agree very much with the opinion that whenever possible, the most effective place

> to put our efforts toward industrial training is in industry itself. While I still believe that under present conditions and for many years to come much of this training will have to be given in the schools, and while I believe there will always be a place for certain kinds of training through the schools, yet I agree that the great mass of workers can be trained best on the job and in the factory and shop. (Prosser 1913)

Between 1910 and 1920, the preference of both the large corporations and middle level manufacturers swung toward doing their own training. Indicative of this trend was the formation, in 1913, of the National Association of Corporation Schools (NACS). The membership of this Association looked like an early version of Fortune's "five hundred," and included most of the major corporations of the day. From the beginning, the NACS did not see how the public sector could provide job training because of the large number of different occupations and the constant fluctuations in labor demand (NACS 1913, p. 256). A list of "industries' demands on the public schools," printed in 1916, was limited to basic academic skills (1916, p. 232). By 1920 the Association was opposed to any specialization in the schools. A speaker at the 1920 NACS meeting lectured, "It is up to industries to develop the vocational tendencies of young people who come to work" (1920, pp. 47-51).

A similar attitude developed among middle level manufacturers. Initially, middle level manufacturers did not believe they could afford to copy the corporation schools of the large trusts. Germany's experience with the continuation school suggested, however, that all manufacturers could train on the job. The decisive event, which settled the issue, was World War I.

America's entrance into the war created an unprecedented demand for labor. This demand was the result of both the drafting of workers into the armed service and the need for additional workers due to expanded war production. Large numbers of production workers, particularly women, had to be trained. The solution was the training room.

As part of the war effort, the federal government established the U.S. Training Service. The task of this agency was to assist industry in starting training rooms for new employees. These programs were considered a critical element in the war effort. England and France required that every company start such a training effort. It became almost as much a question of patriotic duty as sound business (National Association of Manufacturers 1918, pp. 45-53; 1919, pp. 43-51, 170). When the war ended, the training room did not go away. Significantly, the NAM, which had worked for public training programs since 1897,

recommended in 1920 that manufacturers keep their training rooms, and in the same year it abolished its eighteen-year-old standing committee on industrial education (1920, pp. 96-100).

In summary, the claim that the American industrial revolution increased the skill requirements of entry level workers seems groundless. The fact that the new production workers were largely unskilled rural Americans and southern Europeans supports this contention. When manufacturers spoke of the need for skilled mechanics, they were talking about foremen and repairmen and not large numbers of artisans. Importantly, in those industries where high levels of skills were needed, the modern apprenticeship system was in place to provide this training. By 1920, most manufacturers were training entry level workers.

## JOB SKILLS AS A FACTOR IN CURRENT YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

The skill-employability paradigm is still very much a part of today's conventional wisdom; many still believe that the lack of job skills is the most important barrier to employment. Polls indicate that 88.8 percent of the public supports public school programs where students can learn job skills ("Surveys Reveal High Teen Jobless Rate" 1980, p. 588). Likewise, it is widely believed that skilled jobs go unfilled because the unemployed lack the required expertise. The executive director of the American Vocational Association warned, "Today's unemployed, disadvantaged teenager could be tomorrow's unemployed adult in a nation that nevertheless has a shortage of skilled workers" (Bottoms 1979, p. 5).

The job skills paradigm has been a basic policy assumption of recent youth unemployment programs. As outlined by Professor Rupert Evans (1978, pp. 29-30), those who have designed recent Department of Labor and U.S. Office of Education programs aimed at unemployed youth believe that lack of job skills, education, and work experience are the important structural barriers causing youth unemployment. The job skills portion of their assumption is debatable.

Despite claims that lack of job skills is a structural barrier to youth employment and a conventional wisdom which supports this view, the evidence suggests the contrary. The President's Automation Commission found, for example, that only 12 percent of the workers surveyed reported that prior formal training was an important factor in their getting a job. Fully 60 percent reported they had been trained on the job (Thurow 1979, p. 325). As summarized by Grasso and Shea (1979, pp. 159-165), the research concerning the relationship of high school curriculum (training) and work fails to demonstrate a

significant labor market advantage for people with previous formal training.

Certainly, as suggested by economist Lester Thurow (1979, pp. 325-326), there are occupations where skills are learned in formal training programs and sold to prospective employers. In a study of rural youth, workers in clerical occupations reported that prior education and grades had been important in getting a job (Skaggs and Drummond 1972, p. 91). Those promoting skill training like to mention technical, clerical, and building trade occupations as examples of areas where prior training is important in getting a job. Yet this argument is at best only half true, and in the case of technical occupations irrelevant to the issue of youth unemployment.

It is conceded that many technical occupations require some prior training. But this training is of the postsecondary type and requires advanced cognitive skills. Further, managerial and technical occupations combined amount to only 15 percent of the work force (U.S. Department of Labor and U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare 1976, pp. 235, 387). Technical jobs are not a realistic option for the typical sixteen to twenty-two-year old, out-of-school, unemployed youth. Clerical jobs sometimes, but not always, require prior training. As pointed out by Mills (1951), there is evidence of a gradual de-skilling of these white collar occupations. Finally, there is little evidence that prior training is necessary for gaining employment in the building trades. A study of the entrance routes to the trades found that fully 50 percent received their training on the job as part of the apprenticeship program (Marshall, Franklin, and Glover 1974). The remaining workers entered the trades largely without prior training, frequently during periods of high labor demand. Only 10 percent of this group reported having had any formal training before taking jobs.

Thurow (1979) provides a clear analysis of the real importance of entry level job skills in today's work place. He argues that if prior skills were important to entry, then the supply curves for most occupations would be fixed or inelastic (pp. 323-326). In most cases, however, the supply curves are quite elastic. This is to say that if demand increases for a particular type of worker, the supply quickly increases if wages rise. This elasticity would not be possible if rigid prior skill requirement characterized most occupations. The elasticity of supply curves of most occupations suggests that prior work skills are unimportant.

Thurow points out another characteristic of the work place that negates the importance of job skills. He suggests that most employers simply do not hire employees with advanced levels of skill but instead train existing workers. This is another way of

saying that, despite prior training, all entry level workers start out at the bottom. Supporting Thurow's point is the reality that most union contracts require employers to give at least some consideration to seniority when filling better jobs.

Finally, it needs to be pointed out that much of the training rhetoric is based on ex post facto arguments. One spokesman for an association of vocational educators quibbled that those who do not think skills are important have never tried to hire a typist (Bottoms 1979, p. 6). The shortage of typists, however, is just as likely to be due to low wages that fail to bring forth the supply of skilled individuals that actually exists. A teacher's union leader, in supporting increased schooling to combat youth unemployment, reminded that dropouts were two to three times as likely to be unemployed as high school graduates (Shanker 1980, p. 2). It can be countered that both dropping out and unemployment are functions of socioeconomic factors; high school graduates have better employment records possibly because they come from higher status families.

The evidence suggests that job skills are not all-important in getting most entry level jobs. This is particularly true in the nontechnical occupations open to dropouts and high school graduates. Most jobs held by these groups are not the sort for which employers expect employees to have had prior training. More important is the fact that employers prefer to recruit and train current employees for positions that require advanced skills. Even in the construction trades, training in the manipulative skills is given on the job and not required for initial employment. One final study highlights the situation. In a study of barriers to employment experienced by Manpower clients, Schiller (1975, pp. 17-19) identified only one important skill, the ability to drive a car in order to get to work.

## OTHER CAUSES OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

This essay has argued that industrialization led to a decrease in the manipulative skill required for the majority of entry level jobs. Further, we have argued that industry quickly developed a preference for doing its own training in those jobs that required special training. This situation has not changed in recent times. With few exceptions, jobs typically held by previously trained individuals who have sold their skills to their employers are not those open to beginning workers without postsecondary education. Most training received is provided by employers because employers prefer it that way. Lack of job skills is not the primary barrier to youth employment. What, then, are some other factors related to youth unemployment? We will discuss variables which seem to limit the number of job opportunities available to youth (demand-side factors) and then

cite characteristics of youth themselves which possibly deter employment (supply-side factors).

## Demand-side Factors: Why Aren't There More Jobs for Youth?

An unavoidable constraint on any policy to promote employment of a target population is the state of the economy, specifically the unemployment rate. Thurow (1979) summarizes the situation:

> In an economy with a 7% unemployment rate, one can make a good argument that all government training programs are simply a waste of money. In such an economy, there is a surplus of all types of labor, and employment is essentially a zero-sum game. If one gets a job, another person does not. (p. 329)

The zero-sum situation, described by Thurow, is the current economic reality; there are more workers than work. As policy analyst Barry Stern (1977) aptly points out, the economy is characterized by skill surpluses and job shortages. "To provide youths with a greater share of existing jobs, particularly career type jobs," states Stern, "they would have to displace adult workers from their jobs, a situation not likely to be tolerated by older populations" (p. 11). Adding to the pessimism, David Mundel (1980) of the Congressional Budget Office points out, "If high unemployment is tolerated during the 1980s in order to reduce inflation, even higher youth unemployment rates, especially for minority youth, can be anticipated" (p. 6).

Further complicating the situation is the regional nature of economic growth. While high concentrations of unemployed youth tend to be in the industrialized urban states, most of the economic growth tends to be in the South and Southwest. Young workers are the least likely to move long distances for work (Densley 1969).

Another factor limiting employment opportunities for youth is the preference of firms offering career work to hire older workers. Economist Paul Osterman (1978) has concluded from his research that the underlying structural cause of unemployment for out-of-school teenagers is that primary firms prefer to hire more predictable adults. Osterman (1978) concluded that stability was more important than prior training or work experience. Only the stable worker allows the company to recoup its training costs. Industry has found that the best predictor of stability is age.

In summary, in periods of high unemployment the prospects of reducing youth unemployment are not good; even if successful, the increased hiring of youth will be at the expense of the other working populations replaced. New jobs created through economic growth tend to be in geographic areas removed from the centers of youth unemployment. Firms that offer career work prefer older workers. These are all thorny facts for policymakers who hope to reduce youth unemployment.

## Supply-side Factors: Characteristics of Youth That Affect Employment

While public policymakers seem to assume that all obstacles to youth employment are external, certain characteristics of youth are also barriers. Employers' belief that youths are less stable than adults is true. The quit rate of the seventeen to nineteen-year-old group is 62 percent higher than the twenty-five to twenty-nine-year-old age group (Osterman 1978). Career development expert Donald Super suggests that this behavior is to be expected as youth search for career directions.* American mores condone, if not encourage, wanderlust and exploration by youth. While it can be argued that youth instability is a result of the lack of career work, it is also a part of growing up. The policy issue is, to what degree can this behavior be modified, if in fact it should be.

Another supply-side consideration is the nature of the unemployed youth population. It is reported that as many as one-half of the youths calling themselves, or being called, unemployed are full-time students (Osterman 1978). A very real question is whether the inability of full-time students to find part-time work should be a national issue.

## POLICY IMPLICATIONS

We began by examining the historical as well as present-day validity of the paradigm that lack of job skills is a principal structural barrier to youth employment and concluded that, both today and in the past, industrialization has decreased the importance of prior job skills in the majority of entry level occupations. A major factor in the declining importance of prior job skills is the preference of many employers to provide their own training. Economists point out the bleak reality that in times of general high unemployment any effort to increase youth

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* Donald Super: interview with the author at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, VA, April 29, 1980.

employment will simply displace other groups. Compounding the problem, many new jobs created by the economy are in geographic areas far removed from the centers of youth unemployment. A significant obstacle to youth employment is the preference of employers to hire older, more stable workers. Career development research suggests this instability is to be expected in youth, and that American mores condone such behavior.

In light of these data, it is tempting to conclude by quoting political scientist Garry Brewer: "For many, if not most, large social problems, no one really knows what to do" (p. 15). Confirming Brewer's pessimism, this research identified several difficult questions related to youth unemployment:

> What portion of the youth unemployment problem is really a national issue or concern? Is the inability of full-time students to find work a federal problem?
>
> Considering that in times of less than full employment, efforts to increase jobs for one group may displace another, what is the relative importance of youth as compared to other target groups?
>
> Removing barriers to career-type work for youth requires changing both the attitudes of employers and the socially reinforced instability of youth; is this possible or desirable?

What are the policy alternatives for reducing youth unemployment? If it is assumed that doing nothing is not an alternative, that the economy will not improve, and that youth are not more important than other groups, there seems to be but two alternatives: Continue the present policy of government subsidized employment, or reduce the supply of young workers by moving some into institutional holding patterns. One such vehicle would be compulsory military service, an alternative which is not popular with youth. A second alternative would be to increase the enrollments in two-year technical institutes.

The second of these alternatives would seem to be the more palatable and productive. Research has demonstrated the labor market advantage of two-year postsecondary education programs (Grasso & Shea 1979, p. 170). Undoubtedly, one reason why this kind of education is effective is that its graduates are viewed by employers as relatively mature. Mundel (1980) reports, "Approximately one-half of the total federal expenditure for youth aged fourteen to twenty-two is directed toward the fifth of

the age group who are enrolled in college" (p. 7). If additional monies were spent on increasing postsecondary two-year enrollment, the total supply of youth in the labor market would be reduced. The probability of those enrolled being ultimately employed in career work would increase. The institutions to provide such two-year education are in place and increasingly of a mind to offer more work-related programs.

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# EMPLOYER INVOLVEMENT

## A STUDY OF
## PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR LINKAGES TO YOUTH PROGRAMS

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## INTRODUCTION

The United States government has initiated numerous programs aimed at addressing youth unemployment problems. One of these endeavors is the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA). Its predecessors include, among others, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps, and the Vocational Education Act.

Private industry has also attempted to address the need for youth employment through individual company programs and, perhaps most notably, via the establishment, during the mid-1960s, of the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB). The extent to which these and other efforts have been used to address youth unemployment is suggested by Mangum and Walsh.

> The creation of job opportunities outside the normal processes of the labor market, either by direct public job creation or by subsidizing employment in private firms and institutions or public agencies has been one of the major strategies of attempts to alleviate youth unemployment. In 1974, for example, 70 percent of all employment and training program enrollees under twenty-two, and 90 percent under nineteen years of age were enrolled in work experience programs. Since the passage of CETA, and now with YEDPA, subsidized employment for youth has been expanded both absolutely and relatively. (1978, p. 52)

Unfortunately, despite all our efforts to date, very little research exists on the viability of various approaches to the youth employment problem. With this general situation, it is not surprising to discover that even less is known about how best to involve employers in federally funded youth programs. Mangum and Walsh (1978, p. 53) note that, "Evaluative material on youth participation in public service employment and subsidized private employment is sparse." In the foreword to a more recent review of the literature in the field, focusing primarily on private-sector participation in federal youth programs, Ungerer wrote that:

> The principal conclusion [of this report] is that this whole field of private-sector involvement with youth transition programs, while rich in anecdotal examples, is very poorly documented and researched in any formal sense. The result is that, in spite

> of substantial experimentation, we really know little about what motivates and sustains private-sector involvement and what outcomes can be expected from such participation. (National Manpower Institute 1980, p. viii)

The outlook for the near future may not be nearly so bleak. Numerous studies have been initiated to more systematically investigate currently unresolved questions. Entire programmatic areas have been developed with a primary focus on knowledge development. One such instance is the Exemplary In-School Demonstration Projects, supported through Youth Employment and Training Projects (YETP) discretionary funds. As with other YEDPA programs, it is incumbent upon those individuals operating the Exemplary Projects to work to broaden our knowledge base. The first general principle of the YEDPA Planning Charter states:

> Knowledge Development is a primary aim of the new youth programs. At every decision-making level, an effort must be made to try out promising ideas, to support ongoing innovation and to assess performance as rigorously as possible. Resources should be concentrated and structured so that the underlying ideas can be given a reasonable test. Hypotheses and questions should be determined at the outset, with an evaluation methodology built in. (U.S. Department of Labor 1977, p. 5)

## On This Report

This report is devoted to presentation of data collected via a special substudy of the ongoing Youthwork National Policy Study (YNPS).* More specifically, the purpose of this sub-study was to examine how both public and private sector employers were involved in these programs. The data reported here were collected by YNPS field observers at twenty-nine programs located in eighteen states. Furthermore, the data were collected at projects reflecting all four of the Exemplary In-School Demonstation Project focus areas: private sector involvement, youth-operated initiatives, academic credit for work experience, and career information and awareness.

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*The data discussed in this paper were collected by the Youthwork National Policy Study, Cornell University, sponsored by a grant from Youthwork Incorporated, Washington, D.C.

The issues reviewed on the following pages reflect research and policy interests of both the U.S. Department of Labor and Youthwork, Inc. In particular, these data address the following broad research area specified in the U.S. Department of Labor's A Knowledge Development Plan for Youth Initiative, Fiscal 1979:

> What approaches and procedures can be used to involve the private sector in employment and training efforts and to increase the placement of the participants in private sector jobs? How effective are these approaches in accessing new jobs and providing better career tracks for youth? Are they preferable to public sector approaches? (1979, p. 4)

Further, Youthwork, Inc. has requested information which addresses the following questions:

> How are private sector employees recruited?
>
> What are the various forms of private sector involvement?
>
> What incentives do private sector employers have for participating in the program?
>
> What are the disincentives which discourage private sector involvement?

These, then, were the issues and questions guiding this substudy investigation of both private and public sector involvement in the Exemplary Projects. The findings presented in this report reflect one step in the process of better understanding the role employers play in federally sponsored youth programs. As such, they begin to address some of the many information gaps which have been noted in the literature.

## Methodology

Researchers conducting the Youthwork National Policy Study, a longitudinal ethnographic study, have been investigating various policy-relevant questions at a number of Exemplary In-School Demonstration Projects since September 1978 (fifty-one sites in all were included in the investigation). To accomplish the data collection, an on-site field observer was located for each program. Regional training sessions were held throughout the United States to acquaint the field observers with the initial foci of this research endeavor, and to examine the basic skills

observers would need for their fieldwork. Additional training sessions were held at approximately seven-month intervals. At these sessions, particular problems encountered by observers were addressed and new areas of investigation introduced.

The primary data collection methods used were those associated with ethnographic research: participant observation, document review, and key informant and informal interviewing techniques. To help modify these methods to better fit the need for timeliness, which policy research demands, specific areas of investigation were identified for the field observers.

> A significant departure from traditional ethnographic research was instigated with this present study. Rather than send the observers into the field and wait for the "emergent issues" to become apparent, time considerations, as well as specific policy questions of concern to the Congress, the Department of Labor, and to Youthwork, Inc., necessitated the pre-definition of areas of investigation. (Rist et al. 1980, p. 19)

The focusing of data collection was accomplished in two ways. First, a series of "Analysis Packets" were developed, each of which focused on a particular area of study. These analysis packets did not specify how to collect relevant data, but rather provided a framework within which an area of concern could be defined. Second, when a more narrowly defined topic was to be addressed, as in the case of employer involvement, specific questions were forwarded to observers, with suggested sources for the data collection. For this present investigation, field observers were provided a brief outline of questions to be asked of program directors and job coordinators (see Appendix). Additionally, throughout the study, observers remained responsible for determining which were the important events at their respective programs, and for ensuring that these events were recorded.

Field observers at thirty-three sites were asked to address the issues of this substudy through both the interviews and their own knowledge of the program. Responses were received for twenty-nine sites (88 percent). Nonresponses were due to the health problems of one field observer and the arrival of the research request during the termination of observations at three other sites. Exclusion of these last three sites yields a response rate by field observers of 97 percent (twenty-nine of thirty active sites).

The data were transmitted to project staff at Cornell University in the form of protocols, written records of field observer data collection activities. Once received, the data were

coded according to a format designed to coincide with the data-collection guidelines provided to field observers. The use of a standardized coding system allowed its application across program sites. Further, a single analysis framework used across sites enhanced the possibility of generalizing findings and developing recommendations.

The present substudy has incorporated the use of qualitative and survey methods. Building upon the ideas put forth by Webb et al. (1966, pp. 174-175), Seiber has suggested that:

> . . . survey and field research each possesses special qualities that render these methods noninterchangeable; nevertheless, each method can be greatly strengthened by appealing to the unique qualities of the other methods. (1973, p. 1340)

This interweaving of methods served to strengthen the overall study. The multisite survey nature of data acquisition reduced the potential for response bias and enhanced the generalizability of the findings. The ethnographic nature of the larger study provided a longitudinal perspective from which the development of specific questions could be undertaken. Further, having field observers onsite from each program's inception enhanced the accessibility of key informants.

## The Programmatic Focus Areas

The Exemplary In-School Demonstration Projects were funded as a means of testing new and innovative youth employment programs. Further, these programs were designed to "learn more about in-school programs and their effectiveness and to promote cooperation between the education and training and employment systems." (Youthwork, Inc. 1978, p. 2)

The original Exemplary Projects were subdivided into four focus areas, each representing a different approach to the problems of youth unemployment. On the following pages the emphasis of each of these focus areas, as well as descriptions of the twenty-nine responding programs, are briefly presented.

### Expanded Private Sector Involvement Programs

This focus was identified to investigate how private sector employers could be encouraged to increase their involvement in youth programs. It was hoped that programs linking CETA and schools with the private sector would provide insights into the

establishment and conduct of such programs, and provide potentially long-term benefits to the youth participants.

> When jobs are with private employers, they contribute to important real-life experiences in the labor market. Also, such jobs often last beyond the life of a project and can represent a direct "next rung" opportunity for participants. (U.S. Department of Labor 1978a, p. 18)

The decision to focus on this approach to in-school programs was both timely and appropriate. It was timely both because the development of linkages between employment, training, and education services is a major goal of YEDPA (U.S. Department of Labor 1978b, p. 3), and because there is an expressed need to involve the private sector directly in addressing this issue of critical national concern. For example, a series of workshops conducted shortly after passage of YEDPA in 1977 identified involvement of this sector in youth programs as an area for serious investigation. It was noted then that:

> In each of the five workshops, concern was expressed regarding the limitations of the use of the private sector for work experiences because this sector can and should make key contributions to these programs. (U.S. Department of Labor 1978b, p. 7)

The appropriateness of this focus-area choice comes from the knowledge that over 80 percent of all jobs exist within the private sector business community (Graham 1978, p. 1; Pressman 1978, p. 2). Additionally, youth represent one group which is affected by the persistence and expansion of structural unemployment in our society (Robison 1978, p. 9). To address this problem Robison states:

> Government programs to train and provide jobs for the hard-to-employ will continue to play an important role in national manpower policy. Its main emphasis is on the need for substantially greater private sector involvement in efforts to aid such groups both directly and in partnership with government programs. (Robison 1978, p. 9)

Data from five private sector programs are included in this report. Brief sketches of each of these programs follow.

Site 1: Students explore careers and can make appointments with employer-based counselors to further discuss specific careers. Over 250 employer volunteers cooperate with the program. A number of youth also are given work experiences in the private sector.

Site 2: This is a rural program providing classroom training in job readiness skills. After completion of this first program phase, youth participate in vocational exploration in private and public sector jobs.

Site 3: Youth canvass the local community around their school (program located in a major city) to identify potential work sites, as well as employers interested in participating in the program in other ways (e.g., as guest lecturers, provide business tours). Students spend one afternoon per week in a classroom learning about various careers and job readiness skills. Finally, youth are placed in one vocational exploration within the private sector.

Site 4: This program provides basic skills development, job preparation skills and vocational exposure in the private sector. The program's purpose is to provide these experiences as a means of helping prepare youth to make decisions about employment and further education after high school.

Site 5: This is an alternative school providing basic academic skills, survival skills, job orientation classes and vocational exploration. Both public and private sector employers are utilized. Additionally, a "community partner" (mentorship) component is being provided to students.

Job Creation Through Youth-Operated Programs

Job creation through youth-operated projects was selected as a primary focus for Youthwork, Inc., because the area raised important issues in national policy toward youth. Youth are normally the consumers of employment training services and are not involved in the decision-making areas. As consumers only, youth have been denied important experiences and skills which could be gained from being actively involved from the planning stage on through the creation, implementation, and completion of the project effort. The Department of Labor and Youthwork, Inc. have considered this involvement of youth the primary distinction between exemplary programs chosen for this area and programs

supported under the other focal areas (private sector, career guidance and counseling, and academic credit):

> Job creation through youth operated projects has been selected as a primary area of focus because it raises crucial issues in national policy toward youth. Usually, young people are the "objects" of programs, serving principally as spectators and consumers of goods and services. This passive role excludes young people from important experiences and skills. To be competent is to be the subject of an activity, not the object. The measure of competence is what a person can do. Youth operated projects are a way to experiment with approaches that develop competence by actively involving the enrollee in the task of creating socially meaningful and economically gainful employment. (U.S. Department of Labor, 1978a, p. 20)

The five reporting programs include the following sites.

Site 1: A school-sponsored program offering training in agricultural service production, child development and care, construction skills, and business office skills. Supplemental education classes in basic skills are also available to students. There are no work experiences with public or private sector employers.

Site 2: A school-sponsored program with student-operated components, including: a graphic arts studio, a student food service, a performing arts group, a consumer action service, and a school maintenance and repair shop. At present no youth are employed in public or private sector work sites.

Site 3: A program offering job preparation training, survival skills, and specific training in solar energy principles. Work experiences are provided through the operating agency.

Site 4: An in-school work evaluation and career exploration program that pre-evaluates students for vocational training and potential employment. No direct work experience component exists at this program.

Site 5: Youth-operated projects in both services and goods which were designed and are operated by youth. No

actual work experiences exist outside the program components.

## Academic Credit for Work Experience Programs

The academic credit projects are designed to help economically disadvantaged youth make the transition to the work world by providing them with work exploration and placement in the public and private job sector. As an incentive to participate, to help them economically, and to stimulte real work experiences, they receive minimum wage payment for their job placements. Additionally, the participating youth are awarded academic credit for their participation. This second dimension is an inducement for the target population--dropouts and potential dropouts--to return to or remain in school. As a national policy concern, providing academic credit for work experience was chosen as a primary focus area because:

> Some students are so discouraged by past schooling experiences that they find it difficult to learn skills through traditional academic routes. Providing credit for work experience can be the key to encourage some of these youth to continue their education. In general, it is believed that work-education linkages can improve both the work and learning experiences. Although a number of schools in the country have programs that award credit for work, few programs successfully interrelate the education and work experiences. Schools need to take advantage of the fact that many jobs offer opportunities to stimulate learning. (U.S. Department of Labor 1978a, pp. 14-15)

Some characteristics of the nine programs included in this report are the following.

Site 1: This is a program providing on-the-premises work experiences pertaining to the use of natural resources. Youth participate on small work crews with a crew leader/mentor. Job-seeking skills and job referral service are available to youth.

Site 2: Career counseling, job-readiness skills, and work-site experiences are provided to rural youth. Both public and private sector employers provide jobs for participating youth.

Site 3: Here, youth participate in career guidance, basic academic skills, and work experiences in the private sector.

Site 4: Located in an alternative school, this program provides career information, guidance, job-seeking skills, and work experiences in both the public and private sectors.

Site 5: This program is located in traditional and alternative schools, and provides long-term internships that students can directly relate to their school work. While private sector placements had been planned, only public sector placements have been used at present.

Site 6: This site is an alternative school providing academic instruction and work experience in the public sector.

Site 7: This site provides a work-study program involving job training at the work place, related school instruction, and basic academic skills instruction. Work placements are currently concentrated in the public sector with limited private-sector involvement.

Site 8: This program combines career exploration, occupational skill development and work experiences. Employers from both the public and private sectors provide jobs.

Site 9: An alternative education center provides specific timing focus on energy-related careers. An advisory committee develops work placements, provides training, and secures academic credit. Private sector placements are emphasized.

Career Awareness Programs

A shared goal of the programs in this focus area is to improve the transition of youth from school to work by providing career information, job-seeking skills, and counseling. Graham (1978) noted that career guidance was a pressing issue in youth employment, and that much still needed to be learned concerning how best to attract youth to available resources.

> The National Task Force on Youth Employment Policy, a group of representatives of the professional educational associations

meeting in spring 1978, identified career guidance and counseling as the most pressing of six issues concerning youth employment. Of fourteen sub-issues in guidance, jurisdiction for counseling and the training of counselors ranked highest. This suggests the following reasoning:

- Students are not using educational opportunities wisely in preparing themselves for jobs. They make poor use of these opportunities because they are not getting enough information about jobs or adequate counsel on how to prepare for them.

- Improved counselor certification and counselor training will do much to solve the problem. Counselors should be trained to use career information and to give greater emphasis to counseling for employability.

Availability of information and better counsel, important as they are, however, may not be enough. Teenagers most in need of direction seem to have the greatest difficulty in accepting help. The problem, then, is attracting youth to guidance services, which ought to be easier to do if more was known about what works for the teenage poor. (Graham 1978b, p. 1)

Brief descriptions of ten career awareness programs include the following.

Site 1: A placement center provides career information and guidance, skills training, employability assessments, job development and referral. Public and private sector work placements are identified.

Site 2: Ninth grade students focus on career awareness and decision-making skills. Actual work experiments are provided for students in the tenth through twelfth grade.

Site 3: Career education, peer counseling, on-the-job training in the private sector and vocational exploration are provided to participating youth.

Site 4: Located on an Indian reservation, this program provides career awareness and public sector work experiences to eligible youth.

Site 5: High school and community college youth are provided career information, guidance and job-seeking skills. Public sector work experiences have been emphasized.

Site 6: This is an alternative school program providing career awareness and guidance, but no work experience.

Site 7: This site focuses on development of a speaker's bureau for local high schools, and work experience in the area of their studies for community college youth.

Site 8: This program utilizes an extended peer counseling approach to assist youth as they work toward their occupational/educational objectives.

Site 9: Career exploration, job-preparation skills and public or private sector work experiences are provided for rural youth.

Site 10: Program components include: training for youth in specially designed school-to-work transition skills modules, development of personal career plans and a work experience in a public or private work site. A second emphasis is to expand private sector involvement with the city's school districts.

## Caveats

Although mentioned throughout the text, several cautions and clarifications are reiterated at this point to reinforce their importance to the reader's understanding of the nature of this report.

1. The term "employer(s)" is used throughout this report. Unless public or private sector employers are specifically identified, one may assume that the term is being used to include both employment sectors.

2. The term "work experience" as used in this report refers to work experience in general, including both vocational exploration and on-the-job training. Where appropriate, a specific form of training is identified.

3. Data pertaining to both private and public sector employment are discussed within this report, assuming that if one wishes to weigh the merits of private sector involvement over public sector involvement in youth programs, then both types of programs should be reviewed. Several of the reporting programs that have a work experience phase have used both employment sectors.

4. Due to the varying nature of the reporting programs, many of the questions contained in the interview guidelines (Appendix) were not applicable to all of the specific programs. Therefore, few of the following sections contain data acquired from all twenty-nine program sites.

5. Only five of the twenty-nine reporting programs were specifically designed to focus on private sector involvement. The employer-related data from many of the remaining programs reflect secondary and tertiary program components and not the major emphases of these programs.

## FINDINGS

The findings to be reported here have been organized into five areas: (1) ways employers were contacted; (2) incentives/disincentives to employer involvement; (3) the nature of employer involvement; (4) distinctions between the use of public and private sector placements; and (5) what program personnel would do differently if starting the program over. The first three categories represent a progression through which these programs have gone during the past two years. The latter two categories build upon the preceding ones, thereby allowing insight into possible directions for the involvement of employers in future programs.

The programmatic focus areas and their respective projects were reviewed to suggest the diversity of the endeavors represented in this report. Pertinent data suggest that the element of employer involvement was similar for all the programs. Therefore, to eliminate undue repetition, no attempt has been made to discuss employer involvement within each programmatic focus area. However, to substantiate the claim of similarity of employer involvement among these diverse programs, quotations are identified by programmatic focus area.

## Contacting Employers

The first step toward employer participation is establishing contact. Commonly, some form of direct program/employer contact initiated this process. Individuals at all twenty-nine programs used one or more of the following methods: (1) face-to-face contact, (2) presentations before local organizations; and (3) letters and/or telephone calls. In addition the following contact approaches were used on occasion to locate and contact potential employers: (1) lists, such as Chamber of Commerce, Yellow Pages, and NAB, for identification and appropriate follow-up; (2) word of mouth; (3) personal contacts/friends; (4) advisory councils; and (5) program youth themselves serving as contacts.

Clearly, face-to-face contact with employers was essential. Whether programs began by using this method or not, they almost all ended up using it. A private sector program's job developer emphasized the importance of direct one-to-one contact with employers, saying that it was harder for employers to say no to an appeal for their community commitment to youth in a face-to-face contact than in a contact over the telephone or by letter.

A program analyst for an academic credit site corroborated this situation.

> I would go out and get three or four sites a day. Of course, the directions said to get on the phone and call people, but I think that makes it too easy for people to say no. I was successful because I know all of the people in the community.

The need to pursue direct personal contact was further reinforced by an unsuccessful attempt to initiate employer interest via letters of introduction. The field observer at a private sector program noted the following.

> A list of employers was compiled from the Yellow Pages of the county phone book. These employers were sent introductory letters which contained descriptions of the program, and asked if they would like to participate. They were told that if they were interested in having a student at their place of employment, they should contact the project. The response was underwhelming--not one employer called.

Combining the direct approach with additional contact methods further stimulated employer involvement. This appeared particularly true if one hired program personnel familiar with the local business community and/or established advisory councils. In the former instance, both rural and urban program officials attested to the value of knowing people within the business community. Field observers from two academic credit programs provided valuable descriptions. In both situations the important factor was the indigenous nature of the program personnel responsible for employer recruitment. From an urban academic credit site the field observer related that one of the reasons she was given her position was because of her long history of participation in community organizations. Many of the agencies she contacts are familiar with her personally. She said, "I have been a part of the poverty business for more than ten years. Most of the people I hang around with are working for grass roots organizations."

A rural academic program analyst discussed his longstanding familiarity with the community, and then went on to praise the program's secretary for her assistance. After contacting an initial group of employers and getting their commitment, he waited until students had particular needs to make new contacts outside this group. "And then the secretary began to help me. She has personal friends that are doctors, people like that, so she would make the contacts for me. All of the staff credited the secretary for developing many of the professional placements in the project."

The use of advisory councils to assist in the identification of work sites or to convey program information appeared to have been quite limited. Personnel at only five programs discussed these uses of advisory councils. In one situation, a career awareness program, the program operator noted that, to date, he had been able to "achieve without the committee that which I want to do," and, therefore, little effort had been directed toward such a council.

In contrast, three programs found these councils to be extremely useful. At one private sector program, even though the council was established several months after the program began, the field observer noted that:

> In last year's program, employers associated with one of the schools via the Advisory Council were instrumental in obtaining employment slots for approximately 50 percent of the students. In the other school, over 95 percent of the work sites were developed by the students during the course of the "outreach" work.

A final case suggested a situation which program personnel can ill afford to let occur. At this academic credit program, a potentially useful advisory council was allowed to disband, due to neglect by program personnel. The field observer explained.

> Another component built into the original proposal which was supposed to assist in private sector placement was the Work Education Council. It would have several committees to work closely with the project, one of those being private sector employment. This committee met a few times but faded out with no personal commitments or very much interest shown from community people. The project director did not really push for it, so several months into the project it died a natural death.

The importance of this situation is not that it depicts a failure to utilize the council to acquire work sites, but rather it depicts the failure of program personnel to follow up a linkage which they had initiated. Unfortunately, it was not just advisory councils which went unattended. For instance, at one private sector site, the field observer noted that contact with employers via organizations was initiated but was not maintained as a result of poor follow-up by program personnel. In direct contrast, pursuit of linkages can yield substantial program gain, as suggested by the experiences of a second private sector program. This program used the resources of NAB to help identify over 250 employers interested in acting as counselors for the program.

These situations suggest a lack of time and possibly of personnel to effectively carry out all of the program components. Interim Report #1 (Rist et al. 1979) of the YNPS noted the problems encountered by program personnel, who not only must complete daily program duties but also must identify work placements. One means to address these problems was identified at an academic credit program, where two staff members started work two weeks before the beginning of school, and spent the time looking for job possibilities for the students.

Another means of acquiring employer involvement proved successful for two consecutive years. This innovative approach involved the program's youth in an outreach effort. Employers were contacted directly by youth canvassing the community surrounding their schools for potential work sites. These youth described the program to employers, and then filled out a form indicating the employer's interest in the program, which ranged from a willingness to act as a guest speaker, to giving work-site tours, to having a youth work at the place of business.

The success of this approach can be substantiated. During the first year's outreach (1978-1979), approximately 140 youth identified over 700 interested employers. During the 1979-1980 school year approximately 60 youth identified 148 interested employers. This was accomplished in the first nine days of the outreach process (25-30 days total outreach time). Furthermore, this approach was so successful that a group of eleventh grade students attempted, during the 1979-1980 school year, to identify for themselves, unsubsidized work placements. These large pools of potential work sites allowed this program to place students in employment situations which reflected more closely their career interests.

## Incentives/Disincentives to Employer Involvement

What can a program offer employers as an incentive to participate? Resolution of this fundamental question is imperative if youth employment programs are to succeed. The discussion which follows is subdivided into observations about financial incentives, other incentives, and disincentives.

### Financial Incentives

For the programs which placed youth with employers, full subsidization was used by fourteen programs, partial subsidization was used by one program, and five programs did not provide this information.* Program personnel from nine sites identified subsidization of youth wages as being a major incentive to employers. One private sector program operator suggested that the wage subsidy allowed business people the opportunity to extend their community involvement without threat to their profits. In fact, the operator noted that some employers agreed to participate only after they were informed that participating youth wages would be covered by the program. It was the view of program personnel at another private sector site that without the wage subsidy local employers could not have afforded to become involved. Students' wages were fully subsidized by the program and this was a major incentive to employers. Many employers stated that they would not be able to have another person in their facility if wages were not subsidized. Most employers liked the method of subsidy, since it not only relieved them of financial burden, but also of extensive paperwork. One rural academic credit program operator noted that

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*An additional six programs provided work experiences within the program but without employer involvement. Three programs did not place youth in work experiences.

"possibly 20 percent of the employers might have participated in the program if they themselves had to pay."

Financial incentives were not the sole motive for employer involvement. There have been numerous instances of unsubsidized employers offering positions to program youth. In fact, one private sector program, which did not operate during the summer of 1979, found that about one-half of its students were retained by their employers during this period without subsidization. This program's field observer identified three factors which influenced employers to accept unsubsidized youth.

1. The need for employees, at minimum wage, where the employers had some assurance of the student's interest and ability. Association with a program such as this one gave employers this type of assurance.

2. Many of the employers had heard of school programs aimed at providing students with work experience. In general, the business people favored this educational approach and wanted to support it.

3. Favorable impressions made by youth in initial contacts and interviews.

Use of the targeted jobs tax credit represented another approach to the issue of financial incentives.* Job coordinators at one private sector program suggested the tax credit incentive as an alternative to on-the-job training contracts for some of the program's youth. This program component was separate from the fully subsidized vocational exploration work experiences. The field observer related both the job coordinator's enthusiasm for this incentive and one major reservation about the adequacy of the incentive as it applied to youth.

> In reference to incentives to private sector employers, the conversation turned to the use of the OJT contracts which was not successful this year. The coordinator gave the following account. The coordinator felt obligated to tell the potential employer that when we use the OJT contract, then their

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*The targeted jobs tax credit allows for a credit of 50 percent of the first $6,000 in wages paid to eligible workers in their first year of employment (25 percent of $6,000 during second year). Further information is available through IRS offices.

> books could be open for audit by the federal government. Well, that just automatically turned a lot of potential employers off. Whereas, with this tax incentive there is not that type of federal involvement in the books, just a couple of simple forms, and it reduces the wage expense by 50 percent for the first year up to $6,000, and it really should work. The coordinator pointed out a pitfall in the tax incentive law, and that is that it left out 14 and 15 year olds. He feels that these are really the kids who need the most help, because they are difficult to place in the first place.

Other Incentives

A number of nonfinancial incentives were identified by program personnel as having further fostered employer participation. These incentives included (1) a sense of community obligation; (2) the business person's acquaintance with and trust of the job coordinator; (3) good past experiences with other similar programs; (4) prescreening of students by the program to determine their potential for success in specific work experiences--a matching process between youth and job; (5) flexibility of scheduling--at an alternative school, the youth could schedule work at various times during the day; and (6) a growing positive program reputation within the community.

The first of these incentives, a sense of commitment to community, was described in a number of ways, including community responsibility, professional obligation, and a desire to help "take care of your own." One private sector job developer identified this as a "strong commitment to the future of the youth in the community." A field observer at a rural private sector program noted that:

> Some employers are concerned about community obligations. For instance, one of the questions frequently asked of the job developers is where these kids come from. The employers are much more receptive to helping high school students from their own communities. Quite a few employers have mentioned that their children, when they were teenagers, had difficulty obtaining jobs, and they support this program because of their empathy for youth.

From an academic credit program, the field observer presented the following observation:

> The site analyst said that, "In our community I believe it is a desire to help that motivates them [the employers] to participate." The [program] operator felt that there was not so much a "community obligation" at work, but a "professional obligation." As an example, he commented that local doctors felt that someone had helped them at one time and they wanted to return that.

Program personnel used various incentives to foster employer receptivity to their programs. As with employer contact, success hinged upon an active commitment by program personnel. At one career awareness program, the field observer related the following:

> Last year's (1978-1979) success tremendously influenced and helped this year's (1979-1980) project, and the things that have contributed to this in the eyes of these people were: the training and the follow-up, that there is always a contact person--if the employer has a problem.

At a second academic credit program, the field observer learned that development of a program-specific reputation fostered employer interest.

> Has the program's reputation helped or hindered? The project operator felt that in the beginning, when it was a generalized CETA reputation, it hurt. But now that they had a specific programmatic reputation, it helped. "Now that we have proven ourselves, the employers are coming to us."

Finally, the field observer at a youth operated program connected the program's reputation to meeting the needs of employers and to the successful employment of program graduates:

> Some members of the community, particularly farmers and construction companies, have expressed an interest in the participants of the program as a source of their future employees. Therefore, it appears that the reputation of the project is in good standing. Also some of the graduated students

> who were participants in the program are now employed in jobs for which they were trained.

Disincentives

Numerous reasons why individual employers refused to participate were also identified in conversations with program officials. Most common was simply that they had no need for additional help. Small businesses, in particular, could not justify taking on the additional help--even if it was free labor--if it meant that current employees would have less to do.

Program personnel from two of five private sector sites noted that the age of the youth and the labor laws were factors having an impact on private sector employer involvement. One program director noted that it was not refusal on the part of employers that inhibited job placement, but that there were "so many places we cannot put students." This has been particularly true for programs which attempted to place fourteen and fifteen year olds in work experience positions.

Misconceptions concerning the youth by employers at four programs was another factor with which programs had to contend. These misunderstandings ranged from a general distrust of high school youth to stereotypic ideas about programs of this nature. One program director stated that

> the main barrier to acquiring job sites has been an initial rejection of involvement with the youth program based on stereotypical ideas. Some employers have had contact previously with youth programs and have had negative experiences. Some of these employers have complained of the time required in supervising students and of not trusting youth in general. However, several of these sites, which have been persuaded to take on students on a trial basis and have had some positive experiences with youths from the project, are now willing to take on what they consider to be "high-risk" kids.

Additional disincentives encountered can be divided into two areas: those specifically program oriented and those more general in nature. In the first category fall such factors as (1) the sophisticated skill requirements of some jobs (specific skill training before placement is not a feature of any of these programs); (2) inexperience of job developers or poor presentation of the program's purposes by youth to employers;

and (3) poor coordination of cooperating agencies in the acquisition of work sites.

Disincentives falling into the second area include (1) the current economic condition, which is not conducive to small business expansion; (2) a reluctance to become involved in federal programs that may lead to auditing of their books, or in the "red tape" generally assumed to go hand-in-hand with federal programs; (3) CETA prime sponsors who have refused to allow subsidization of private sector placements--suggesting that a clearer understanding of relevant legislation was needed; (4) unions; and (5) public sector employers' fears of state aid cuts. These last two factors, noted at one private sector program, are specifically referred to by one program director thus:

> We haven't been able to get into places that have unions because of the union rules. And, there is also that incident I told you about with the nursing home, where they were afraid that if they took our students, they would receive a cut in state aid.

## The Nature of Employer Involvement

The involvement of employers took one of the following forms: (1) providing guest lecturers; (2) providing tours of their businesses; (3) providing supportive services (e.g., materials about their business); (4) participating on advisory councils; and most importantly; (5) providing work experiences. Programs were generally successful in obtaining employer involvement. This may have resulted from a highly organized program administration, smooth program implementation, or simply the sheer determination of program personnel to see the program succeed. As the first four forms of employer involvement are self-explanatory, this section will focus on problems encountered in arranging for work experiences.

Programs in all four focus areas found it necessary to use public sector placements to a greater extent than had been anticipated. The state of the economy was identified by a career awareness program operator as one reason for this.

> We had anticipated finding much more employment during the Christmas holidays, but we just found there were not the jobs available we hoped there would be. We are particularly finding, within the last month or so, [that] the employment and job openings have been the least we have seen in a long time.

> There still seems to be a lot of interest from employers. They like the idea of being able to go to the schools and find students in their community or in the area where the business is located to get students, especially those who have an interest in their type of employment opportunity. But right now there are just not the jobs available, and that has caused a problem in some of our programs in helping youth get jobs.

Another factor precipitating greater public sector involvement for a private sector program was the type of work available. One field observer stated that:

> Almost all placements are within the private sector. The few public sector placements have resulted from students' requests to gain certain types of experiences, i.e., library aide, teacher aide, which are not available in private sector employment.

This finding suggests that not all youth necessarily want careers in the private sector. Therefore, there should be alternatives available.

Initial failures at more than one private sector site were attributed to inadequate contact with employers, due to lack of staff or time to maintain linkages. This was remedied through the addition of a full-time job developer and development of a regular schedule of contact with participating employers. As recorded by one field observer:

> To assess the success or failure of obtaining private sector participation by this program, one must take a look at the changes that have occurred over the year the program has been in operation. Initially, the program had a great deal of difficulty in finding job placements. Some of the difficulty encountered can be accounted for by the lack of experience of the job developers, the absence of procedures to keep track of contact with employers and their responses,and the absence of leadership and supervision by the previous director. Personnel changes, the institution of procedures to record the results of contacts with employers, and the experience which time has brought to the

> staff have all contributed to the participation of more private sector employers.

An academic credit program, which originally planned to have 75 percent private sector and 25 percent public sector placements, found it necessary to reverse these percentages when support from the business community virtually disappeared. Reasons for this withdrawal included a misunderstanding of the types of students the program would be placing and a distrust of CETA programs in general. The field observer suggested the need for a clearer understanding between program operators and employers regarding the intent and clientele of youth programs.

> When the project became operational, a job development specialist began visiting possible private sector employers. It became apparent very quickly that there would be a problem with the private sector placements. Those individuals who had initially indicated support just were not available, although the job development specialist put some considerable effort into pursuing those avenues. When these employers were pushed, they responded that they had not realized that the students the project wanted to place in their businesses did not have skills. I was also told by the project director that the students who had been asked to attend the original meeting for Youthwork people were students from the school. But they happened to be a "different sort" of student than the kind that the project was planning to serve. This was mentioned to me by the project director as another reason why, when it came to producing, these private sector employers did not come through.

Two more inhibitors of the use of private sector employers were the refusal of CETA prime sponsors to allow placements in this sector and the delay of reimbursement of youth wages to private sector employers. Both situations reflected an uncertainty as to the interpretation of CETA regulations concerning the subsidization of employment in the private sector. The two programs that experienced problems of this nature made almost exclusive use of public sector work placements.

Late program start-up and understaffing were additional factors with which programs had to contend. Beginning late gave inadequate time to identify potential employers. Inadequate staff resulted in a variety of program modifications or

deletions. Two instances suggest what may happen when staff are expected to do more than is reasonable. A field observer at a career awareness program noted the following:

> During the first year of operation (1978-79), the vocational teacher/counselor had two scheduled class periods a day. That arrangement allowed him time to develop his program, arrange field trips, job experiences, and job observations. He had arranged with several businesses to have students work part-time on a temporary basis and without pay to have a work experience and learn about that particular business. During the school year (1979-80), however, none of the above has continued. There are two reasons for this. The first is a matter of time. In an effort to keep down class size, the vocational teacher now has a class each period. The main purpose of the class is career awareness and job acquisition skills. No provision is made for individual placement or supervision. Field trips also are not possible because of continuous classes as well as transportation problems. The second reason is the assumption and feeling that YET (another local youth program) can handle the actual job placements and supervision for interested students. There is, however, no referral system between the alternative school and YET. Also, there seems to be little if any communication between the two programs, despite the fact that they are housed in the same building. The vocational teacher did not know if any of his students were being served by YET. He did agree it would be helpful if he knew, so that he might supplement the students' work experience in the classroom and individualize the instruction for the particular needs of the student.

The second instance of understaffing occurred where career specialists within the schools were expected to operate a career center and attend all the employer guest lectures held in the school. The career specialists felt their time was better spent in the career center providing concrete career information. The field observer noted that one way these specialists resolved their mandatory attendance at lectures was by scheduling as few lectures as possible.

This section has reviewed data which suggest the difficulties programs have encountered in involving employers in

general, and private sector employers in particular. Overall, however, it must be emphasized that these programs met or came close to meeting their projected number of placements of youth in work experiences. This often necessitated shifting placement from the private sector to the public sector.

One particular innovation, which may be difficult to implement but nevertheless should not go unmentioned, was the use of flexible student work hours. One private sector program operated in an alternative school setting. The setting allowed students to take either morning or afternoon classes. This in turn allowed program youth to work for employers at varying times during the day--including morning hours. Program officials found this approach helpful in acquiring private sector placements. The competition between programs and individuals looking for after-school jobs predictably makes afternoons a difficult time to place youth in jobs. Therefore, a system which utilizes "off peak" employment times may carry certain competitive advantages.

## The Distinction Between Public and Private Sector Placement

The preceding section reported a greater than anticipated reliance by programs on public sector work placements. To begin to address the question of whether student placement in one employment sector was preferable to the other, program personnel were asked to make distinctions between the two employment sectors. Comparison data were received from eight sites (three private sector, three career awareness, two academic credit). All of these sites placed youth in both employment sectors. The remaining programs did not respond, either because they did not place youth in work experiences or because they had no basis for comparison. The opinions/experiences related below are varied and at times contradictory, but they provide an enlightening view of this issue.

Personnel from four programs (two private sector, two career awareness) suggested that public sector employers took an interest in helping students. One program coordinator noted that:

> Students receive more supervision and there seems to be more opportunity for job training and skill development in the public sector jobs. Public sector employers seem more interested in helping our students and not just getting work out of them. Private sector employers and supervisors are not quite as patient. They seem more concerned with the profit motive and do not have the student's interest at heart.

One field observer suggested that this perception may be in part due to the nature of public sector jobs--they are more person/service oriented than private sector jobs.

In contrast, data from two other programs (one private sector, one academic credit) suggest that public sector employers were more likely to accept behaviors which would not be tolerated in the private sector. A job coordinator related that:

> Public sector is nonprofit, and in the public sector the student is, for all practical purposes, working for free. There is no pressure in the public sector to perform, whereas, in the private sector it is a profit motive; it is sink or swim. In the private sector you get fired if you are no good. That is not necessarily true in the public sector. Public sector can afford to keep their less productive employees because they are free; whereas, private sector cannot afford to keep them.

The field observer added:

> The public sector is seen as a place where one can "get away with" certain behaviors. Therefore, certain kids who could not make it in the private sector are placed in public sector jobs. I see a hierarchy that a student can move through. First, he must show the correct attitude in job orientation class. Then he is placed in the public sector. If he shows that he is a dependable and responsible worker, he is placed in the private sector.

An issue which surfaced at six of eight sites pertained to how youth were used at their work placements. This issue was also the one which generated the greatest amount of contradictory data. A field observer related that:

> One job developer feels that the public sector offers a greater opportunity to students without the temptation to "use" the students to do just any job. She feels that the public sector is more committed to offering training for youth.

In contrast, program staff at a site which had to rely almost exclusively on public sector placements were of the belief that

this type of work was "make work" and that the private sector reflected the "real world." Staff at another program

> . . . feel that the public and private placements differ, but in subtle ways. They feel that students receive more substantial work assignments in the private sector. They think the profit motive has something to do with this--a private business person is more likely to put the student to good use than someone in a bureaucracy.

Some clear distinctions between the public and private employment sectors emerged: (1) less permanence or chance for advancement in the public sector; (2) public salaries not as high; (3) greater turnover of personnel in the public sector; and (4) different types of jobs in the two sectors. With regard to the last point, it was noted that use of public sector sites should not be excluded, as there are some youth who have career interests which can only be developed in this employment sector.

## Starting Over: Strategies for Employer Involvement

Many "person years" of experience with youth employment programs have now accumulated, making it possible to define with greater confidence those program characteristics that are important for success. Therefore, program personnel were asked, in effect, "If you had to do it over, how would you change your approach to employer involvement?" Field observers were also encouraged to provide their insights and opinions, as they often had been associated with their respective program for a longer period than the current staff.

Themes of insufficient staff, not enough time to complete tasks, and unanticipated problems in acquiring private sector work placements recurred in response to this question. Remedies were also suggested by personnel representing eighteen of the twenty-nine programs.

An increase in the amount of preprogram planning/preparation time was suggested by representatives of seven programs. During this time the following could be accomplished: (1) plan the program, recruit and train staff; (2) define program objectives, so that program personnel understand them; (3) develop the administrative structure; (4) identify the needs of both students and employers; and (5) allow public and private sector employers to become involved in the conceptual and developmental stages of the program. For job developers, this means time to identify potential job sites. Acquisition of one

job slot can, in some instances, take weeks. To initiate this process after the program has begun simply increases the difficulty and chances of failure. Associated with program planning is the need to staff programs sufficiently, so that individuals have adequate time to do their jobs.

Increasing the involvement of the private sector was of concern to program personnel. Suggested modifications at individual programs included gaining a better understanding of CETA regulations regarding work experiences in this sector and attempting to alleviate some of the local misconceptions about the program.

Even more important, personnel from six programs representing all four programmatic focus areas suggested that advisory councils be used and that greater publicity efforts be undertaken. In the three instances reported, advisory councils were effective in linking the program with employers. Further, they provide a medium through which employers can help programs to meet employer needs more effectively. These councils need to be formed early in the program and to have a clear understanding of their function.

Increased publicity through word of mouth, organizations, and the media was identified as a factor to be considered. "Put the publicity anyplace that a private sector person might run across it," one director suggested.

A third area of concern, noted at six programs, was the preparation of participating youth. This included better equipping the youth to meet employer expectations, and fostering greater individual capabilities. One private sector program director related the following:

> I would like to do things differently, in that I would like kids to develop their own jobs. I was impressed with what I heard about the other youth work program which did that, and the sheer number of jobs the kids developed. It is not just that I think the kids could develop more jobs than we have been able to, but I think we do too much for them, in a lot of ways. We teach them in the classroom what an interview is going to be like, but from the few interviews I have seen, they are really not much [like that]. It seems like we get these students jobs, whereas, we should be helping them more to learn how to go about getting their own jobs. It takes a lot of guts to walk up to somebody and ask for a job. It takes skills to

> describe what you want, describe who you are; and it also takes a level of self-confidence that I would like to see us help these kids to develop. If we have the kids go out and contact the employers, it would reinforce what we have taught them in the classroom about the skills necessary to interact with employers.

Another individual associated with a career awareness program noted:

> One thing that I think we have to be aware of is that often when you start a program that deals with employers, programmers go out and they try to get all the employers to give their job openings, and they forget they have to spend as much time preparing the student for employment. Sometimes we fail to realize that job placement means that we are working with students too. I have seen a lot of programs where they have gone out, got job openings, come back, and found out that their students were not prepared, and do not get these jobs because they were not adequately prepared.

Personnel at one career awareness program suggested that if a program does not provide actual work experiences, it should be linked with other programs that do; and if it does not provide specific training, it should be linked with local training programs.

> I would concentrate on setting up linkages with private and public training facilities and vocational training programs so our students would be more qualified to meet the needs of employers contacting us for help. As mentioned earlier, our biggest problem now is finding students who meet the needs stipulated by employers.

## SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The data presented in this report provide insight into employer involvement at twenty-nine Exemplary In-School Demonstration Projects. Twenty of these programs actively sought work experiences for their youth participants. An additional six programs contained work experience components that did not

necessitate employer identification/participation. All twenty-nine programs utilized employers in one way or another (e.g., guest speakers, tours).

The data were collected by field observers of the Youthwork National Policy Study, through informal interviews with program directors and job developers. Guidelines for these interviews were provided by the YNPS staff at Cornell University. All interview data were collected during January and February 1980.

Contained within this report are findings relevant to five topics: (1) how program personnel initiated contact with employers; (2) incentives/ disincentives to employer participation; (3) how employers were involved in the programs; (4) distinctions between public and private sector employment; and (5) what program personnel would do differently if starting their programs over. The sections that follow briefly summarize the findings and provide recommendations.

## Contacting Employers

Contacts between program personnel and an employer generally involved: (1) face-to-face contact; (2) presentations before local organizations; and (3) letters or telephone calls. Methods for the identification of employers interested in participating included: (1) review of existing lists combined with a follow-up; (2) word of mouth; (3) personal contacts/friends; (4) use of advisory councils; and (5) use of program youth to locate potential employer participants. Several factors evident from reviewing the data lead to the following observations and recommendations:

1. Although a variety of approaches was tried, the most successful in acquiring employer involvement was direct face-to-face contact.

2. The hiring of staff familiar with the community and its employers enhances a program's ability to acquire a sufficient number of work sites. It may also provide access to more specialized placements.

3. A preprogram planning phase should be instituted at future programs. This period could be used to better prepare program components, provide lead time for those individuals responsible for employer involvement, and prevent or lessen the overloading of staff during other program phases.

4. The first year's experience, in which over 700 interested business people were identified by approximately 140 youth,

suggests that this approach be seriously considered. Two obvious advantages to this approach are its reduction of the workload on staff and the greater number of potential work sites which may be contacted.

5. An appropriate program component would be the formation of an advisory council. Its functions would include, but not be limited to: dissemination of program information, identification of employers who can provide services to the program, and provision of program guidance concerning employer expectations of employees. Further, it would be beneficial if this council was organized early, so that it could assist in program implementation.

6. It is imperative that any linkages with the community, via advisory councils or individual encounters, be followed up. Failure to do so can decrease the ability of a program to gain community support.

## Incentives/Disincentives to Employer Involvement

Data presented in the National Manpower Institute's report on the involvement of the private sector suggest that, as with other employer-program related issues, we know very little about the factors which entice employer participation. Financial incentives, tax credits, and a sense of community obligation all can be used to encourage this process. But there are also factors which mediate against employer involvement--red tape, current economic conditions, poor presentation of the program. Data from the Exemplary Projects identify all of these as having an impact on the program/employer linkage. Observations and recommendations pertaining to incentives and disincentives are the following:

1. Program personnel repeatedly indicated that without subsidies very few employers would have participated. This may, in part, be due to current economic conditions. Whatever the reasons, financial incentives appear presently to be a necessary program component.

2. All programs placing youth within the public sector fully subsidized their wages. This is probably the only way public sector employers would accept youth, unless they worked on a volunteer basis.

3. Full wage subsidization for private sector placements has more than economic advantages for employers. In contrast with partial subsidization, the full subsidy approach allows employers to become involved in the program while protecting

their financial records from possible government audit. Governmental interference in their business is a concern of employers.

4. The sense among employers of obligation or commitment to the community and the idea that they can have an impact through the development of the students' work skills are two factors that program personnel can use to help sell the program.

5. The reputation of the program within the community can act as either an incentive or disincentive to potential employers. It is, therefore, imperative that every effort be made to present the program well, and for program personnel to follow up on program contacts/commitments within the community.

6. One alternative school program found that its flexible scheduling, allowing students to work at various periods during the day, enhanced its acquisition of work sites. If a program's design is flexible enough to allow for this form of scheduling, it should be seriously considered.

7. The age of youth participants is a factor that must be considered when developing a youth program. For example, it may be more appropriate to develop a career awareness program if the youth to be served are fourteen and fifteen year olds. This is an age group for whom it is quite difficult to find actual employment experiences due to labor laws.

## The Nature of Employer Involvement

Employer participation encompassed a range of activities which included providing (1) guest lectures; (2) tours of their businesses; (3) supportive services (e.g., materials about their business); (4) participation on advisory councils; and (5) work experiences. This report focuses on the various experiences programs had in acquiring placements for work experience.

Program personnel within all four programmatic focus areas found that they had to rely on public sector work experiences more than had been originally proposed. Three reasons for this were (1) current economic conditions; (2) a need to provide a greater range of work experiences than could be found in one employment sector (due to the attempt to meet youths' career interests); and (3) confusion about CETA regulations concerning subsidization within the private sector. A clearer understanding of CETA regulations by both program and CETA personnel could alleviate this problem. Subsidization in the private sector is allowed within certain guidelines (Federal Register, Vol. 44, No. 65, April 3, 1979).

Program planning and implementation had an impact upon the ability of personnel to acquire employer involvement. Late program start-up, understaffing, and inadequate time to maintain linkages, all were factors needing attention. Resolution of these problems ranged from acquiring extra staff to deletion/reduction of program components. If there is genuine concern for employer involvement in the program, then sufficient time and staff need to be provided.

## Distinctions Between Public and Private Sector Placements

The federal government's growing interest in the involvement of private sector employers in youth programs has precipitated the need to examine closely the distinctions between public and private sector placements. Given that a large majority of all jobs are located within the private sector, this focus may be quite appropriate. However, for the student who will spend only a few weeks in a work experience, does the employment sector actually make a difference? The National Manpower Institute recently completed what may well be the most comprehensive report on the involvement of the private sector in youth employment programs. Their assessment of the public/private sector issue stated the following:

> But is there any advantage to youth of obtaining work experience or training in the private, as opposed to the public sector? The literature simply does not say. To our knowledge, there exists not a single evaluation that addresses this topic. (National Manpower Institute 1980, p. 31)

The National Manpower Institute suggested that the private sector might be expected to pay more, have greater opportunity for permanence and provide wider advancement possibilities. Further, the report notes that in many federal transition-to-work programs:

> Younger teenagers often are placed in public or non-profit agencies where it is hoped they will learn good work habits and attitudes in an atmosphere less stressful than the private sector, with its dedication to profit and productivity. When and if these youngsters become job ready, they then are referred to private employers. (pp. 32-33)

Twenty of the programs included in our study actively sought work experiences in either or both of the employment sectors.

Program personnel from sites which involved both sectors provided data relevant to distinctions between them. On the whole, a clear preference for one sector over the other cannot be reported. Each had its proponents and detractors. However, the opinions expressed suggest that much of what the National Manpower Institute proposed was substantiated at the local level.

The clearest distinctions included (1) less permanence and chance for advancement in the public sector; (2) public salaries not as high; (3) greater turnover of personnel in the public sector; and (4) different types of jobs in each sector. This last factor may be particularly relevant for individuals contemplating the implementation of a youth program. As one cannot assume that all youth are going to want the same type of career, neither can one assume that either form of work experience (public or private) is appropriate for all youth. The program design should not dictate the types of work placements youth may have. Rather, it should be flexible enough to allow for individual interests.

Public sector employers were depicted as being more interested in helping students. It was suggested that this may be due in part to public sector jobs being more person/service oriented. Further, this sector was believed to be more likely to put up with behaviors not accepted in the private sector, more likely to offer employment, and less likely to "use" (i.e., take advantage of) students. The private sector was depicted as less patient, more profit motivated, more likely to put the student to good use, and providing "real-world" training vs. public sector "make work." Interestingly, there does appear to be a fear, or at least a deep concern, that poor performance by program youth placed in the private sector could result in loss of private sector involvement. Phrases such as "putting up with behaviors," "less patient," and "real world vs. make work," suggest this to be the situation. Are private sector employers actually more difficult to satisfy, or do these perceptions stem simply from lack of experience in creating necessary linkages? While this study's limited examination of public/private differences does not suggest an answer, it does further document the need for further investigation.

Levels of work site supervision also vary. Whether one sector tends to be more conscientious in this regard is debatable. Actual levels of supervision are most likely to depend on the specific employer. This suggests that program personnel need to closely monitor the work experiences of youth. Programmed work experiences should emphasize the quality of the learning experience for the youth, and not the material gain for the employer.

## Starting Over: Strategies for Employer Involvement

The preceding four sections identify several factors that program personnel would incorporate into their programs were they to begin again. They include better maintenance of linkages, start-up to coincide with the school year, better planning of time vs. tasks, and attention to staffing levels. All are intrinsic to program implementation.

Three areas of particular interest were the needs for a planning period, for an increase in private sector involvement, and for more attention to the preparation given youth. Planning periods would allow time to lay the groundwork for conduct of the program, as well as to address some of the aforementioned issues, e.g., start-up, time vs. tasks. To increase private sector involvement, emphasis should be placed upon the establishment of advisory councils and an increased use of publicity. In the few instances reported, advisory councils were quite instrumental in orchestrating the program/employer linkage. The use of increased publicity, via as many means as possible, was suggested as a method of encouraging further private sector employer participation.

Finally, program personnel suggested that we not lose sight of those for whom these programs are being operated--the youth participants. Preparation of youth to meet employer expectations is only one factor to be addressed. More important is the fostering of individual capabilities. When the students leave the security of the program and the school, it is hoped that they will possess both the experience and confidence to be able to move into the world of work.

## APPENDIX

## GUIDELINES FOR DATA COLLECTION: EMPLOYER INVOLVEMENT

### I. Descriptive/Statistical Data

Most of this information should be readily available through records maintained by the program operator.

- -the current (1/80) number of youth enrolled
- -the number of youth eligible for placement in a work experience
- -the number of youth in work experience
- -the number of youth in public sector jobs and private sector jobs
- -the salary paid youth while at work
- -the total number of employment sites (subdivide by private and public sector)
- -a listing of these sites noting the following characteristics
  - a) ownership (e.g., locally owned, chain, industry, etc.)
  - b) services rendered (e.g., goods, services, etc.)
  - c) approximate number of employees (optional) ranges 0-20, 21-50, 51-100, 100 or more
  - d) how long the employer has been involved with the current Youthwork program
- -other relevant characteristics you might feel would help provide a picture of the employers in the program

If any of the above data is not readily available through the program operator's office do not spend time collecting it by yourself. While it does provide a bit of background when discussing private/public sector involvement, the more important focus of this data collection is contained in the following section.

### II. Interview Questions

Please stay with the questions listed below adding others only if time allows. Also for some questions there is a need to differentiate between private and public sector employers. For example you could ask question one twice--once for each employment sector. A few questions may be inappropriate and therefore may be deleted.

1. What is the nature of private/public sector involvement in your program (e.g., give tours or lectures, provide jobs, other)?

2. What has been the degree of success in meeting original goals for incorporation of the private/public sector in this program? What were the goals? How can one account for this success/failure?

3. What are the incentives to private/public employers that have facilitated their participation?

   a) Financial Incentives: What strategy has been used to pay for the youth's wages (e.g., full subsidy by project; partial subsidy by project part by employer; employer pays full wages; other)? How has this approach worked out? How have problems been negotiated? Have there been instances where employers have refused to take the subsidy in favor of paying for youth themselves? How many (approximately)? Why? Would employers have accepted youth without subsidization? Why?

   b) Other Incentives: Has there been expressed by employers a feeling of community obligation? Has the program's reputation helped/hindered obtaining work experiences? Why? Other reasons?

4. How were employers contacted? Did advisory councils or other groups (e.g., NAB, Chamber of Commerce) help locate work sites? Explain.

5. What was the extent of youth training or preparation for their work experiences? Were youth given interview and application completion training? Did youth have to use these techniques when being placed in work experiences? Why or why not? (Approximate percentage using/not using learned skills?) Were youth trianed ahead of time for the job they were placed in? Are youth receiving training while at the work site? Who supervised this process? Is there an emphasis to train youth for a future job (transferable skills) or are some/many of the work experiences primarily used to expose youth to a work situation or simply make work positions?

6. What type of feedback has the project received from employers/ How has this feedback been incorporated into the project?

7. What disincentives have inhibited acquisition of work sites? How can/have these problems be/been addressed?

8. How do private sector placements differ from public sector placements? Are there advantages to one over the other? In what ways? Which employment sector do youth appear to prefer? Why?

9. What is the amount of time youth spend in a work experience during the program? (Note total time/week in program; time/week in work experience; total time student can be in program.) Do youth have multiple work experiences or remain at one site? For those with multiple experiences approximately how long per work experience?

10. How do program operators define vocational exploration (VEP)? How do program operators define on-the-job training (OJT)? How do program operators differentiate between the two and how is each utilized? (if appropriate)

11. If you had to start the project over, how would you approach private/public sector involvement differently? That is, what alternative strategies would you use that would be inducive to encouraging private/public sector involvement?

12. For observers: What is your impression of the success/failures encountered by the project when incorporating private and public employers? Why? Explain.

Other information readily available which may help clarify the involvement of private and public employers would be helpful. Remember that you are spending only two or three days collecting this information and that our interest is in responses from 1) the program director, 2) the CETA liaison, 3) the project developer, and 4) your own impressions.

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# IMPROVING THE LABOR EXCHANGE PROCESS
# A FOCUS ON YOUTH

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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## BACKGROUND

### Introduction

As it becomes increasingly recognized that blanket fiscal and monetary policies are no longer able to produce satisfactory employment levels, movement is toward a more complete understanding of the micro foundations of macroeconomic theory. In a time of rising unemployment, the need for better comprehension of labor markets and the labor exchange process is indicated.

For the labor exchange to be successful, two subprocesses must occur. First, a job opening must be announced by the employer to those capable of responding; and second, those capable of responding must be in a position to hear and answer the announcement.

Job search is the productive activity in which workers invest their resources to produce job offers and information on wages and working conditions in these jobs. Associated with this activity are pecuniary costs such as travel costs, employment agency fees, and the opportunity costs of waiting for a job (Chapin 1971). Employers seek recruits who will be productive and aid in fulfilling their organizational goals. Associated with employer recruitment efforts are costs, both in time and money.

This paper commences by reviewing the literature on the job search behavior of American workers, with emphasis on youth job search techniques. Next, we statistically analyze the opposite side of the labor exchange process, the recruitment techniques of employers. A basic incongruency between the ways people search for and find work and how employers recruit is indicated. The incongruency is shown to be particularly acute in the case of youth, especially minority youth. We conclude by presenting feasible policy prescriptions for improving the labor exchange process.

### A Review of the Literature

Within the job search literature there are two distinct bodies of research. The first is a theoretical approach which seeks to explain job search behavior in terms of classical economic theory. In this regard the attraction of job search theory is that it seems to put the relationship between aggregate demand and employment on a logically tight theoretical base

(Gronau 1971; Grossman 1973; Mortensen 1970). In fact, job search theory can be said to have been born from the derivation of the Phillips Curve relationship from the study of the underlying labor markets (Mortensen 1970; Salop 1973). This body of research emerged from the works of Stigler (1961, 1962) and others on the economic implications of imperfect information in market structures. The economics profession has developed numerous mathematical job search models (Alchian 1969; Chapin 1971; Gronau 1971; Grossman 1973; Holen 1977; Kasper 1967; Kiefer 1979; McCall 1970; Mortensen 1970; Parsons 1973; Salop 1973; Whipple 1973). Though the models become couched in increasingly more complex mathematical techniques, the basic theory is that the worker will search for wage offers until the expected marginal return equals the marginal cost of search (Stigler 1962). Households as suppliers of labor formulate subjective estimates of wage rate distributions; accepting offers high relative to this acceptance wage, rejecting offers below this critical value (Grossman 1973; Kiefer 1979; Salop 1973). The duration of unemployment varies inversely with the marginal cost of search, the acceptance wage, the discount rate, and the workers' valuation of money wages relative to leisure (Chapin 1971).

The second distinct body of research is empirical in nature: analysis of how individuals do in fact seek work. Job search studies consistently agree that direct application to the employer is the most used technique, though other institutions may have provided the motivation for direct application (Bradshaw 1973; Granovetter 1974; Rosenfeld 1975). Other studies conclude that seeking employment through family contacts and friends is equally widespread (Loomba 1967; Lurie and Rayack 1968; Wilcock and Franke 1963). White collar job seekers use private employment agencies significantly more than blue collar workers, since a large percentage of jobs offered by such agencies are white collar in nature, reflecting the employers' tendency to rely on these agencies for initial screening of applicants (Bradshaw 1973). Skilled workers are more likely to use formal search methods than are the unskilled (Lurie and Rayack 1968; Whipple 1973), but are less likely to use the public employment service (Hilaski 1971). Informal search methods, such as direct contact of employers or use of friends and relatives, are more effective than formal methods, such as the public employment service and the want ads (Lurie and Rayack 1968; Whipple 1973). A consistent conclusion among the studies is that the way to get a job is to "get as many irons into the fire as possible," to use multiple methods, and to begin search early (Ferman 1963; Reid 1972; Camil Associates 1976).

Important differences occur by race. Blacks use formal methods because they are not linked into the informal network. They tend to use the public employment service more and get

little private institutionalized help (Bradshaw 1973; Farnell and Pitzalis 1978; Hilaski 1971). Few blacks find jobs through unions in spite of their union membership (Lurie & Rayack 1968). Blacks also tend to use fewer methods than whites, suggesting a lack of knowledge of effective search techniques, insufficient funds for a prolonged diversified search, and possibly perceived discrimination (Bradshaw 1973). Blacks are less likely than whites to apply directly to employers or to answer local newspaper ads (Reid 1972). Informal search methods are more widely used by white workers due to a greater abundance of contacts in hiring positions (Hilaski 1971; Reid 1972; Rosenfeld 1975).

Most of these studies use for comparison the role of the public employment service as representing the inputs of public policy. Many job seekers accuse the public employment service of poor treatment, few decent job listings, and outdated lists (Ferman 1963; Schlei and Grossman 1976; Camil Associates 1976). Employers express discontent with the service because of poor screening (Rees and Shultz 1970). Other studies point to the relative ineffectiveness of the employment service (Hilaski 1971; Rungeling, Smith, and Scott 1976). A 1975 U.S. Department of Labor publication reflected this complaint, showing that only 5.1 percent of job seekers found employment under the auspices of the public employment service while 33.5 percent of all seekers used the service (Rosenfeld et al. 1975). It also provided a concise summary of how American workers in general seek and find work (see table 1).

## Special Problems of New Entrants

New entrants are a unique group in the labor exchange process. Of this group, youth is the major subgroup. As they venture into the world of work, youth are engaged in job shopping in addition to job search. Job shopping refers to a period of experimentation with jobs, of job exploration. Youth seek labor market information as to the types of firms in the labor market, the potential range of occupations available, required skill levels, effective job search mechanisms, and the characteristics of jobs (hours, conditions, wages, etc.) (National Commission for Employment Policy 1979).

The findings of a number of national samples of youth indicate that young persons have relatively little knowledge of the occupations available to them (National Commission for Employment Policy 1979). Further, the literature presents widespread evidence that young blacks use job search mechanisms that differ from their white counterparts. They rely more on formal methods such as the public employment service and want ads whereas white youth more frequently use informal methods (Lurie and Rayack

TABLE 1

METHODS USED TO SEEK AND FIND WORK

| Method | Job Search | | Job Finding | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Percent | Number | Percent |
| TOTAL (thousands) | 10,437 | 100.0% | 10,437 | 100.0% |
| Applied directly to employer | | 66.0 | | 34.9 |
| Asked friends: | | | | |
| About jobs where they work | | 50.8 | | 12.4 |
| About jobs elsewhere | | 41.8 | | 5.5 |
| Asked relatives: | | | | |
| About jobs where they work | | 28.4 | | 6.1 |
| About jobs elsewhere | | 27.3 | | 2.2 |
| Answered newspaper ads: | | | | |
| Local | | 45.9 | | 12.2 |
| Nonlocal | | 11.7 | | 1.3 |
| Private employment agency | | 21.0 | | 5.6 |
| State employment service | | 33.5 | | 5.1 |
| School placement office | | 12.5 | | 3.0 |
| Civil service test | | 15.3 | | 2.1 |
| Asked teacher or professor | | 10.4 | | 1.4 |
| Went to place where employers come to pick up people | | 1.4 | | 0.1 |
| Placed ads in newspapers: | | | | |
| Local | | 1.6 | | 0.2 |
| Nonlocal | | 0.5 | | (a) |
| Answered ads in professional or trade journals | | 4.9 | | 0.4 |
| Union hiring halls | | 6.0 | | 1.5 |
| Contacted local organization | | 5.6 | | 0.8 |
| Placed ads in professional or trade journals | | 0.6 | | (a) |
| Other | | 11.8 | | 5.2 |

(a) less than 0.95 percent

(Rosenfeld et al., Jobseeking Methods Used by American Workers, 1975, pp. 4 and 7.)

1968; National Commission for Employment Policy 1979; Parnes et al. 1969). Various studies indicate that those taking jobs by formal methods experience more immediate dissatisfaction and terminate their employment faster than those taking jobs via informal methods (Reid 1972). The inability of black youth to make as effective use as whites of informal contact methods helps explain the difference in success of these groups in job finding. White youth may simply have access to a network not available to nonwhite youth.

Several samples have shown that the majority of young men under the age of twenty wait until after leaving one employment before beginning search for another, whereas men over twenty are more likely to begin search prior to leaving employment, thus reducing the duration of their unemployment (Reid 1972). Once unemployed, young blacks spend a longer time than young whites searching for work (National Commission for Employment Policy 1979). Youth tend to use fewer job search methods than do other age groups (National Commission for Employment Policy 1979; Parnes et al. 1969; Stephenson 1976). This may reflect an ability to postpone job search until a likely job presents itself, or it may indicate insufficient knowledge of the various job finding techniques.

The literature is sparse on youth job search methods but a few generalizations are possible. The job search techniques employed by youth, and in particular by minority youth, appear to vary significantly from those used by American workers in general. Youth make disproportionately greater use of those job search mechanisms which previous studies have shown to be the least effective.

## A Labor Exchange Process Model

Drawing on the job search literature and many years of experience in the public employment service, Miriam Johnson has formulated what she refers to as a bifocal view of the labor exchange process (Johnson and Sugarman 1978). Johnson's recruitment/job search model has been developed totally from the supply side of the labor exchange process. It reflects the findings of a U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics study of how workers seek and find jobs (refer to table 1). By examining how people found as well as looked for work, she hypothesizes how employers must have sought workers. Thus, the job search side of the model is empirically tested while the recruitment side of the model remains virtually untested and unsubstantiated.

The model can be visualized by two triangles composing a parallelogram (figure 1). The inverted triangle represents the

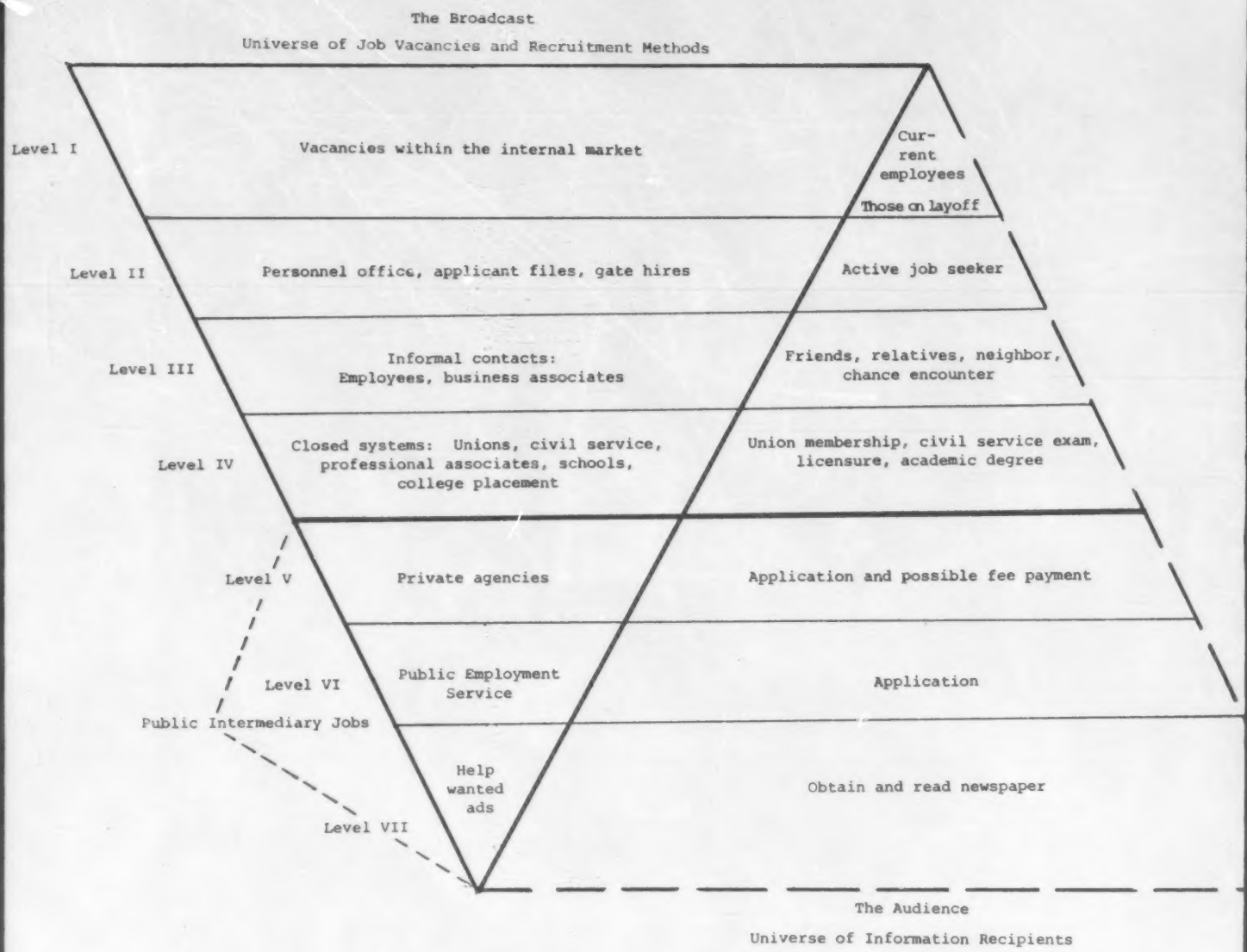


Figure 1: The Recruitment/Job Search Model

(Johnson & Sugarman. Job Development and Placement: CETA Program Models, 1978, p. 16.)

methods by which employers broadcast vacancies to potential workers, while the upright triangle represents the ways in which the audience of potential workers hears the employers' broadcasts. The increasing width of the broadcast levels represent methods more widely used by the employer, while the width of the audience levels indicate the size of the audience hearing the announcement. Employers seek to avoid risk; given a choice they prefer to recruit from among the sources closest and most familiar to them. Hence, they broadcast vacancies to the narrowest, most limited market apt to produce the needed workers and turn to wider, less familiar audiences when the closer sources fail to produce. Visually, movement downward on the broadcast triangle is symbolic of turning to wider, more expansive audiences.

The internal market (Level I) refers to those job vacancies which occur within the organization and are filled either by transfer or promotion of an employee, or by recall of employees laid off. Level II (personnel office, applicants files, employer gate hires) refers to matches that occur by employers hiring those who apply directly to the firm for employment. Informal contacts (Level III) describe vacancies which are broadcast by and obtained through the personal friends, contacts, and acquaintances of job seekers. This informal procedure usually begins with an employer posting news of openings at the place of business. From the employer's viewpoint the announcement goes to a limited but productive market. If the present employees are satisfactory, their friends and relatives are likely to be more so than random hiring would produce. Incumbent employees would be reluctant to accept the onus of having recommended unsatisfactory persons.

Closed systems (Level IV) are formal in nature and are distinguished in that their use is often mandatory. Examples include union hiring halls and the merit civil service structure. Job vacancies are filled only by those meeting "nonwork related" requirements. Level IV contains other "optional" institutions that serve as intermediaries between employers and job seekers. These include college placement offices, professional associations--their journals and annual hiring meetings--and professional placement services. All are characterized by their exclusive service to those sharing some institutional attachment. They are not accessible by the general public.

A final range of labor market intermediaries is publicly available. Private employment agencies (Level V) require a fee payment and tend to specialize occupationally, but are open to all with fee payment made from earnings. The public employment service and the help wanted ads (Levels VI and VII) represent the widest and least restrictive public mechanisms available to employers and job seekers at all occupational levels.

These levels constitute the bifocal model. Employers seek to minimize their risks and costs in the recruitment venture by broadcasting vacancies to progressively wider audience levels. If more selective methods fail to produce a match, the job opening filters down to the public intermediaries. Within the public market the audience size far outstrips the volume of announcements. The want ads and the employment service reach the greatest number of job seekers and are the most convenient and economical ways of seeking work. But, because this market contains only the "left over" jobs and "left over" people, it contains a high volume of low-pay, high-turnover jobs.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

### Purpose

Paralleling on a small scale the Bureau of Labor Statistics study in table 1, this paper reports the results of an establishment survey to determine how employers seek workers. It statistically analyzes the validity of the demand side of the recruitment/job search model. It is of value to employers to know how firms recruit and how successful the users consider the practices to be. It is of even greater value to those who would aid job seekers. Those job seeking measures that are consistent with employer recruiting practices are likely to be far more successful than those that are inconsistent. The model has potentially important equal employment opportunity implications for both recruiter and job seeker, as well as for enforcers of public policy.

### Data Collection and Analysis

The survey was conducted among firms in the Salt Lake City Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. A random selection of firms was impossible, but an effort was made to obtain a stratified sampling of firms of varying size from manufacturing, commercial, service, and heavy and light industry sectors. Sixty-five firms participated. Table 2 describes them by size (number of employees) and type (sector).

Descriptive statistics were used to examine the validity of the model. Frequencies were computed as to the percentage of employers using each source. Variations in sources used, relative to the skill level of the worker being sought, were explored by computing the differences in means between general search sources and specific skill-level search sources, testing these for significance by a t-test.

TABLE 2

CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANT FIRMS

| Size of Firm | | | Type of Firm | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of Employees | Number of Firms | Percentage of Total Sample | | Number of Firms | Percentage of Total Sample |
| 1-10 | 11 | 17 | Manufacturing | 11 | 17 |
| 11-25 | 7 | 11 | Heavy Industry | 9 | 14 |
| 26-50 | 11 | 17 | Light Industry | 9 | 14 |
| 51-100 | 12 | 18 | Commercial | 17 | 26 |
| 101-500 | 11 | 17 | Service | 19 | 29 |
| 501+ | 13 | 20 | | — | — |
| TOTALS | 65 | 100 | TOTALS | 65 | 100 |

## Results and Discussion

Our findings on the relative use and effectiveness of the various recruitment sources are presented in table 3. These results support Johnson's bifocal view. Both means and medians are reported to aid in interpretation. For example, during the time covered by the survey question, an average of 6.7 percent of those hired were recruited through the public employment service. The median was 0.3 percent, indicating that a few employers, recruiting substantially through the service, raised the mean significantly from the low value characteristic of most employers surveyed. Special note should be taken of the relative effectiveness of the sources from the employer's point of view.

The internal market ranked highest among the sources used, followed by informal contacts, and then by personnel offices and gate hires. The difference between these findings and the model (figure 1), which suggests greater use of personnel offices and gate hires than informal contacts, is probably due to the overabundance of service firms in the sample. These tended to be smaller organizations, having fewer personnel offices, and may have introduced a bias into the sample. The only other breaks from the model were with respect to the positioning of closed systems and private agencies. Our findings place these behind the public employment service and the help wanted ads, whereas the model places them ahead of the public intermediaries. Utah is essentially a nonunion state, and closed system recruiting was clearly underrepresented in the sample. Likewise, private agencies are relatively underdeveloped in the Utah employment scene vis-a-vis the public employment service. The Utah public employment service has long been a pacesetter among the nation's state agencies. With these exceptions, the Johnson model is substantiated by this study.

The model is further supported by findings concerning how early in the recruitment process each method was used. The scale used is such that the value of 100 indicates the source first called upon. The rankings were identical to those in the previous test: internal market 91.3, informal contacts 79.9, personnel office 60.6, public employment service and want ads 33.6, closed systems 24.0, and private agencies 10.9. Thus, in terms of both intensity and order of search, this study supports the model.

Table 4 summarizes the results as to the sources used in finding workers of various skill levels. The internal market was used by 100 percent of the employers nearly 95 percent of the time in recruiting management. Use of this source falls consistently as we move through the skill levels. Personnel offices and gate hires were used at all levels except in recruiting management. Informal contacts were widely used at all levels.

TABLE 3

METHODS USED TO SEEK AND FIND WORKERS

| Source | Recruit Searching | | Recruit Finding | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Percentage of Employers Using Source | Percentage Time Source Used (Mean/Median) | Percentage of Employers Hiring | Percentage Hired by Source (Mean/Median) |
| Internal market | 95 | 55.7 49.0 | 77 | 20.7 19.9 |
| Personnel office/gate hires | 83 | 38.6 30.0 | 62 | 19.4 19.5 |
| Informal contacts | 94 | 56.1 58.0 | 89 | 30.5 25.2 |
| Closed systems | 51 | 17.5 9.5 | 28 | 7.7 0.3 |
| Private agencies | 25 | 5.9 0.2 | 14 | 2.8 0.1 |
| Public employment service | 69 | 37.8 33.0 | 28 | 6.7 0.3 |
| Want ads | 65 | 23.8 20.0 | 43 | 12.5 0.5 |

TABLE 4

SOURCES USED IN SEEKING WORKERS
(by skill level)

| Source | Unskilled/ Semiskilled | | | Skilled | | | White Collar | | | Management | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Employers Using Source (%) | Percentage of Time Used (Mean/Median) | | Employers Using Source (%) | Percentage of Time Used (Mean/Median) | | Employers Using Source (%) | Percentage of Time Used (Mean/Median) | | Employers Using Source (%) | Percentage of Time Used (Mean/Median) | |
| Internal | 46 | 19.5 | 0.4 | 80 | 44.1 | 40.4 | 94 | 57.7 | 60.0 | 100 | 84.6 | 94.0 |
| Personnel office | 74 | 34.8 | 32.0 | 66 | 28.1 | 20.1 | 71 | 29.5 | 20.4 | 31 | 12.2 | 0.3 |
| Informal contacts | 85 | 41.9 | 39.6 | 88 | 44.9 | 40.1 | 92 | 52.4 | 59.6 | 77 | 43.9 | 40.2 |
| Closed systems | 20 | 7.4 | 0.2 | 38 | 14.1 | 0.4 | 38 | 17.4 | 0.4 | 35 | 16.9 | 0.4 |
| Private agencies | 6 | 1.1 | 0.1 | 17 | 5.4 | 2.5 | 22 | 8.5 | 0.2 | 20 | 8.7 | 0.3 |
| Public empl't svc | 66 | 37.0 | 35.0 | 55 | 30.9 | 19.9 | 52 | 22.1 | 9.9 | 12 | 6.7 | 0.1 |
| Want ads | 52 | 23.6 | 10.0 | 55 | 23.6 | 10.2 | 48 | 14.2 | 4.0 | 17 | 4.1 | 0.3 |

Closed systems were more widely used in skilled and white collar recruitment than in unskilled. Table 4 supports the view that private employment services are used most often in recruiting specialized workers. The results clearly show that as the skill level being sought increases, use of the public employment service as a recruitment source declines steadily.

Table 5 compares the mean of the general use of each source with the use of that same source on the four alternative skill levels. The findings presented in table 5 support the data of table 4. The informal market is used more heavily in recruiting management and less heavily in recruiting unskilled workers. Informal contacts are most generally used at skilled and white collar levels, while closed systems and private agencies are seldom used in recruiting unskilled workers. General use of the public employment service and the want ads varies significantly from their use at the skilled, white collar, and management skill levels, indicating that employers use the public intermediaries largely for recruiting unskilled and semiskilled workers.

## Conclusions

1. Employers do conform with the recruitment/job search model, both in terms of where they recruit and the intensity of their search. The recruitment methods used vary significantly with the type of worker being sought, and with the size and type of firm.

The internal market is a major recruitment method except for entry level, unskilled, and semiskilled workers. Informal contacts are widely and effectively used at all occupational levels. Use of the public employment service declines as the skill level requirement to fill the vacancy increases. The larger the firm the greater the use of the personnel office, gate hires, and the internal market in recruitment efforts.

2. A basic incongruency exists between the ways people search for work and how employers recruit workers. Verification of the bifocal view of the labor exchange process indicates that employers recruit via a hierarchy of methods, employing less-focused methods (formal methods) when more selective (informal methods) techniques fail to produce results.

3. The incongruency between search techniques and recruitment methods is greater in the case of youth, especially black youth. Black youth tend to use formal methods such as the public employment service and the want ads more than their white counterparts. This apparent inability to make use of the most

TABLE 5

DIFFERENCES IN RECRUITMENT SOURCES USED
(by skill level)*

| Source | Skill Level | Difference in Means | T Value | 2 Tail Significance Level |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Internal | Unskilled | 36.2 | 7.81 | .001 |
| | Management | -28.8 | -6.79 | .001 |
| Personnel office | Skilled | 10.5 | 2.7 | .009 |
| | White Collar | 9.2 | 2.79 | .007 |
| | Management | 26.4 | 6.39 | .001 |
| Informal contacts | Unskilled | 14.2 | 2.97 | .004 |
| | Management | 12.2 | 2.32 | .024 |
| Closed systems | Unskilled | 10.1 | 4.2 | .001 |
| Private agencies | Unskilled | 4.8 | 3.75 | .001 |
| Public employment service | Skilled | 7.0 | 2.58 | .012 |
| | White Collar | [illegible]7 | 4.59 | .001 |
| | Management | -37.0 | -7.86 | .001 |
| Want ads | White Collar | 9.6 | 3.22 | .002 |
| | Management | 19.7 | 6.86 | .001 |

*Only comparisons with significant differences are listed.

effective job search mechanism, coupled with other characteristics of youth, helps explain the white/black unemployment differential.

## IMPLICATIONS AND AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

### Individual Job Search

Verification of the model suggests that the individual job seeker should become more active. This research indicates that informal contacts, walk-ins, and gate hires are the most widely used recruitment practices. Job seekers should spend more of their job seeking effort applying directly to the firms of their interest and actively exploring the connections of family, friends, and neighbors. The job seeker who only files with the public employment service and answers the want ads may not be involved in an effective job search. As the literature review states, a proven rule of successful job search is to have as many irons as possible in the fire at one time. In other words, the greater the number of methods used, the greater the chance of successful job search.

### Reasons for Widening the Firm's Recruitment Net

Reliance on the internal market and informal contacts--friends and relatives of present employees--does reduce risk in hiring, but exclusive use of these sources may be harmful as well as advantageous. While reducing many of the risks involved in recruitment, the firm may lose the opportunity to identify individuals with new skills, attitudes, and motivations. A variety of opinions and perceptions can be a valuable resource. Internal hiring can promote the inbreeding of attitudes. Use of informal methods may also open recruitment to favoritism and kickbacks to supervisors, rather than keep selection on the basis of competence and merit only.

A second reason to widen the recruitment net is to meet Equal Employment Opportunity responsibilities. Internal promotions and hiring through informal contacts tend to institutionalize the status quo. Recruited friends of present employees are similar in race, education, social values, and income level. It is perhaps not too farfetched to suggest that heavy use of these recruitment sources could constitute prima facie evidence of lack of affirmative action.

## Youth Job Search Assistance

The evidence presented in the literature review and our statistical analysis point to the possible merits of job search training for youth. Indications from the literature are that young people are unaware of the range of occupations open to them and are unschooled in effective job search techniques. Interviewing skills, effective resume writing, proper appearance, and knowing where to look are learned behaviors. Youth are only beginning to learn by experience in the labor market. Such skills are only beginning to emerge and can be taught.

Job search assistance for youth should include an introduction to labor market analysis, and should provide an understanding of important aspects of job choice as well as job search. Job choice can only occur following job exploration. Effective job choice involves job shopping. Youth job search assistance should provide information on (1) the types of firms in the labor market and required skills; (2) the range of occupations available; (3) the characteristics and regimentation of these occupations; and (4) the most effective job search mechanisms for the chosen occupation (National Commission for Employment Policy 1979; Parnes et al. 1969).

Youth job search training must correlate to the stages which young people pass through in establishing their ties with the world of work. These stages have been succinctly described and analyzed in the work of Paul Osterman (1979; forthcoming). When first entering the labor market, youth are in what Osterman terms a "moratorium" stage, where adventure and peer group activities predominate in importance over stable employment. As a result, youth move between jobs and in and out of the labor force frequently. This stage is followed by one in which they begin to investigate jobs with the goal (though perhaps not foremost in their minds) of identifying a career that they can visualize as a pleasant lifetime endeavor. During this period, successful negotiation of one's way into the labor market becomes essential. As youth mature, the importance of finding a career increases and job exploration evolves into job choice.

There would seem to be no better facility for providing job search assistance to youth than the schools. A valid goal of the educational system is the transfer of knowledge to the nation's youth, enabling them to become productive, responsible members of society. Labor market knowledge may be equally valuable as knowledge of United States history. Knowledge of the labor market is of use in deciding what to do with one's life and how to prepare to do it, deciding on a life-style and knowing what jobs are compatible with it, knowing what employers expect and how to develop those attributes, knowing what factors to consider

in deciding which occupation or job to pursue, and knowing how to chart a course through a succession of jobs to arrive at one's job objectives.

Education is the major endeavor of youth; work is the major activity that follows. Where better to learn about the world of work than in the institutions that supposedly prepare us for work? Yet how many students leave high school without seriously considering their career ambitions or visualizing themselves in twenty years? How many students leave school knowing how to look effectively for work that will lead them closer to the attainment of their ambitions? Job search is a skill. To be successful one needs to learn the techniques and practice them.

The need for job search assistance does not necessarily terminate with getting the first full-time job. Job exploration typically extends beyond the high school years. Career change is a frequently observed pheonomenon. Therefore, job search assistance should also be available outside the educational system. The public employment service is a logical provider.

## The Public Employment Service

The Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933 brought the public employment service into being. The motivation behind its formation was the massive unemployment of the depression years. Public policymakers responded with legislation such as the Social Security Act and concepts like unemployment insurance. One of the first functions of the employment service was to administer the work test required by unemployment insurance.

There was no shortage of able-bodied workers, rather the shortage was in jobs to match the number of potential workers. The service developed with an orientation to employers, acting as their personnel arm committed to scanning the labor supply and selecting the applicants best qualified to satisfy employers' needs.

The environment that the public employment service faces in 1980 is not the same as that it faced in its early years. No longer can the employment service serve largely as the firm's personnel office. Increasingly this function is being met internally. College placement services, unions, professional associations, human resource training programs, vocational education programs, and private employment agencies are other competitors of the public employment service. In order to have an impact in the labor exchange process, the employment service must provide different services than its competitors, or provide its services more efficiently, effectively, and equitably.

The present study and several others (Farnell and Pitzalis 1978; Ferman 1963; Granovetter 1974; Hilaski 1971; Rees and Shultz 1970; Reid 1972; Rungeling, Smith, and Scott 1976; Sheppard and Belitsky 1966; Rosenfeld et al. 1975) indicate widespread agreement that the employment service is not meeting employer or job seeker demand. Many firms do not use the employment service, because they perceive it to be less effective than their own personnel offices, informal contacts, and closed systems, such as private agencies. Many who do use the service do so only because of equal employment opportunity requirements and mandatory registration legislation.

The reason for this negative view of the employment service is clear. The employment service is not competitive with other labor market intermediaries. Johnson's bifocal model and this study indicate that when a job opens up, employers tend first to look internally, next to informal contacts, then to the personnel office, gate hires, and closed systems. In a majority of cases, it appears to be only as a last resort that they turn to the public employment service. These findings imply a creaming process in which the best jobs are most likely filled by those audiences exposed early to the broadcast. Consequently, a large number of openings referred to the employment service are for unskilled, less attractive jobs.

What, then, is a more vital role for the public employment service in the eighties? To be effective, it must meet and satisfy an effectual demand. If, as the literature indicates, the majority of jobs are found through informal and active job search methods, the public employment service can perhaps best serve its clientele by teaching them how and where to look. Teaching seekers how to search for work, and then letting them go out and find work, may prove more effective than trying to locate jobs for them. Moreover, there has already been some experience in this area. Social programs such as WIN and CETA have included job search assistance components. Redefining the role of the public intermediary would open job search assistance to all needing such aid.

The purpose of this paper is not to explicitly describe the nature of youth job assistance programs, but we will mention five meaningful kinds of goals: (1) to reduce anxiety and helplessness, and provide motivation for approaching the labor market; (2) to change behavior in finding work and on the job; (3) to develop inquiry skills, to learn to invoke resources, to develop a basis for decision making as well as the search skills to get a job; (4) to learn about the market, its nature, its mechanisms, intermediaries, and how people get jobs; and (5) to translate this information into an active and effective job search, moving towards the primary market or enlarging the scope of the search.

## Youth--A Final Note

Job search assistance lowers the cost of search to the individual and can improve the labor exchange process. Job search assistance can increase the individual's chances of finding a productive, satisfying role in the world of work. But job search assistance is no panacea.

Effective job search assistance programs are meaningless if jobs do not exist. Expanded aggregate demand and tight labor markets will probably do more for youth unemployment than any other conceivable policy. Job search assistance does not preclude job training programs or public service employments in depressed areas. Nor does it preclude efforts to slow the suburbanization of jobs or to increase youth employment opportunities in central cities. Job search assistance is but one tool in the public policy tool box.

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# THE COUNSELING NEEDS OF MIGRANT ADOLESCENTS IN VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMS

Lucy Glover Savage and Charles O. Matthews

## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Lucy Glover Savage has pursued her doctoral studies in the Division of Psychological Foundations and Services at the College of William and Mary and is a candidate for the doctorate in education. She holds degrees from Miami University and from the College of William and Mary. Her concern for the problems of migrant adolescents stems, in part, from her experiences as residential counselors' coordinator of the Florida Farmworkers' Residential Training Center. In addition to the problems of culturally deprived populations, her major concerns include community mental health and drug compliance. Ms. Savage's coauthor and doctoral program advisor is Charles O. Matthews, associate professor in the Division of Psychological Foundations and Services, School of Education, College of William and Mary. Dr. Matthews' Ph.D. was earned from Duke University in 1972. His major areas of interest and expertise are group counseling and human sexuality. Both Ms. Savage and Dr. Matthews have previously contributed to the literature in their respective fields.

## INTRODUCTION

The question "What are the counseling needs of migrant adolescents enrolled in vocational training programs?" arose from the experience of the author as residential counselors' coordinator of the Florida Farmworkers' Residential Training Center (FFRTC) in Ocala, Florida. Developed with Comprehensive Employment and Training Act Title III funds, this program was intended to break the cycle of seasonal employment of the migrant adolescent enrolled in the Center by (1) providing vocational training, (2) providing academic training to attain a GED, and (3) providing personal and career counseling to enable the students to cope with and enact life-style changes (Potter 1979).

In working with the students, aged sixteen to twenty, it became apparent that some aspects of the counseling and, more broadly, socialization processes were fairly inadequate and ineffective. It was clear that the program guidelines had grown out of agencies' assumptions about the needs of disadvantaged youth, and not systematically from a study of the acculturation and counseling needs of migrant youth. This view is supported by Lutz (1974b) who, in his review of migrant educational programs, concluded that "the paucity of research literature is in sharp contrast to the generalizations concerning the social and psychological needs of the migrant child found in the descriptive literature" (p. 5). Thus, the purpose of this study was to determine if migrant adolescents do have needs different from those of other average or minority adolescents.

For any training program to be effective, it must be based on and geared towards the unique needs of the population (Krathwold 1964). Unfortunately, this is not generally the case for migrant training programs. Cardenas (1976) reported that one very important by-product of his evaluation of migrant education in Texas "was the identifiction of a large and diverse number of dysfunctional responses to the problems of migrant children. In general, the schools . . . provide a response irrelevant to the nature of the problem" (p. 5). Without need-orientation, programs can become irrelevant, ultimately ineffective, and potentially harmful for participants by alienating them from further involvement in the social system (Groff & Wright 1978). As Tiffany, Cowan, and Tiffany (1970) point out:

> Possession of technical skills is not the complete answer to sustaining employment. . . it becomes necessary to look more closely at definable personality attributes that clearly hamper the individual (p. 73) . . .

> Feelings of loneliness and isolation so characteristic of alienation often accompany perceived powerlessness. When the goals of institutions do not coincide with the aspirations of the people, those persons who feel unable to control the institution will become alienated. (p. 77)

This excerpt describes exactly the growing alienation of the students at FFRTC after they had been involved in the programs at the Center for about a month. It became clear that the program's interpretation of the participants' needs had been incorrect.

Other CETA programs have had similar problems. Although CETA's key term 'assessment' is defined as "evaluation of client information to determine which CETA services are needed" (Bertelsen and Ganikos 1979, p. 10), the fact that the needs of CETA participants are not being adequately met is evident in the literature. One of the major complaints heard often about CETA participants is that they "seldom show much ambition or willingness to work" (Stoudnour 1979, p. 21). A CETA executive states that the majority of participants who are dropped from or quit CETA programs "tend to be the youngest clients with the least education" (Ennis 1979, p. 13). The authors contend that these youth have the greatest needs, yet these are left unmet, and consequently they become discouraged and leave the CETA programs or maintain poor work attitudes.

Theoretical and empirical support indicating the need for training programs for migrants exists. Coles (1969) instructed the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor to "place the highest priority on a policy to end migrancy, stop it, get these people off the road, do something to give them a chance to make a living in a permanent place" (p. 350). In 1973, CETA was enacted to help the hard-core unemployed. Title III includes migrant and seasonal farmworkers among those specifically in need of help. PL 95-524, the CETA Amendments of 1978, was enacted in April 1979 to tighten up CETA spending, monitoring, and eligibility standards (Bertelsen & Ganikos 1979). These changes will decrease the number of Title IV jobs for the soft-core (skilled) unemployed (persons who are unemployed due to the economic recession), and will increase the number of Title II jobs for the hard-core unemployed (Stoudnour 1979). This shift in emphasis indicates a good future for the training sector of CETA, including Titles II and III. However, for this minor aspect of CETA (1.5 percent of the $11.4 billion 1977 budget) (Bennett 1978) to receive continuing financial support and to become increasingly effective, systematic development of need-based training programs must occur.

One aspect of such development has been addressed by the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA). APGA has

been instrumental in encouraging a stronger emphasis on counseling and guidance in PL 95-524; however, "no provisions at all have been made specifically for the measurement of the effective contribution of counseling to the needs of the recipient of CETA services" (Bertelsen and Ganikos 1979, p. 9). This indicates a lack of need-orientation specific to counseling in CETA programs. In fact, during one of the nine conferences held by Inter-America Research Associates (1976) to assess the farmworkers' situation, the conference participants noted that CETA programs are not geared toward the unique needs of the migrant and seasonal farmworkers, and concluded that "the population's unique needs should dictate that program's design" (p. 105). Such a focus on needs will probably not be initiated by CETA programs until more emphasis, as called for by APGA, is placed on evaluations of counseling effectiveness.

Tiffany, Cowan, and Tiffany (1970) recognize that there is "a large proportion of clients who drop out of training programs or do not even follow through on their counseling contacts" (p. 121). One possible reason posited is that "counselors are now finding themselves faced with problems they were not trained to handle" (p. 126). Derald Wing Sue (1978) stated that:

> One of the reasons why there is such a high premature termination rate among minority clients may be that counselors do not share their world view and use counseling approaches inappropriate to their life-styles (p. 462) . . . Therefore, what is needed is for counselors to become culturally aware. Only when counselor education programs begin to incorporate cross-cultural concepts in their training will [cross-cultural counseling become] more effective. (p. 461)

In 1973, Karen Gould (in Stockburger 1977) reported on staff development practices in migrant education to the National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children. She found that staff training focused on administrative details and basic teaching skills, rather than on the development of special skills or knowledge which would improve the staff's performance with migrant students. Salinas (1976), investigating the needs of participants in migrant training programs, determined that staff members working with migrant students have been found to be insensitive to the academic and affective needs of these students. Stockburger (1977) found support for her contention that many program staff are "unaware of the root causes of the migrant child's problems in functioning and learning in the mainstream of our society" (p. 48) in the failure of sixty program providers to indicate recognition of problems related to the migrant life-style and cultural background.

Effective staff development is, however, contingent upon adequate research on migrants. From his review of migrant education programs, Lutz (1974b) concluded that there is "a real lack of useful research on the characteristics and education of migrant children" (p. 15). Cardenas (1976) contended that migrant adolescents have unique psychological and other needs that remain unmet due to a lack of assessment of the migrant adolescent population. Tiffany et al. (1970) summarize the need for such research:

> We need to broaden the insight that unemployment leads to psychological problems to include the nature of . . . personal problems: What are the subcultural patterns, values, and common stereotypes that affect different minority groups' work patterns and adjustment? How would one psychologically describe an individual who makes a career of migrant work? How complete is our knowledge of why migrant workers continue to remain migrant workers in the face of family disruption and poverty? (p. 154)

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

### Migrants as Social Deviants

The social deviance theories of sociologists Erving Goffman and Howard Becker will be utilized as a theoretical framework from which to assess the needs of migrant adolescents. The core concepts of these frameworks will be defined and then illustrated, primarily from the work of Dr. Robert Coles, a child psychiatrist who observed migrants for seven years. These central concepts are powerlessness, labelling, stigma, and the establishment of a deviant subculture. The establishment of migrants as deviants may appear to be merely an intellectual exercise; however, this framework helps to establish the unique nature of migrants' needs.

Becker (1963) believed "deviance is created by society . . . the deviant is one to whom the label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label" (pp. 8,9). Labelling a group or individual as deviant is more likely to occur if the labellers have something to gain; the powerful interest group of agriculturalists have cheap employment, and thus money, to gain: "Deviance . . . is always the result of enterprise" (p. 162). The growers have disallowed migrants social equality through successfully blocking, or ignoring, legislation protecting the human rights of migrants. This situation was

illustrated by Rev. Arthur Bryant (1969) when speaking before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor on the subject of migrant powerlessness:

> When the great bulk of our citizens had their inalienable rights of citizenship enhanced by the right of collective bargaining, those without the right become second class citizens . . . Migrants caught up in the stream are powerless politically, voteless because they are homeless. They are also powerless economically because they frequently become powerless to break away and enter into the main stream of American life. They are serfs subject to the will of the owner. (p. 51)

In short, the powerful agriculturalists have created their own "legal" slaves. Daniel (in Lutz 1974a), speaking to the Migrant Institute, also asserted this denial of power: "The conditions which characterize the lives of migrant farmworkers--poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy--are only a symptom of a more pervasive condition, that is, powerlessness" (p. 7).

Goffman (1963) viewed powerlessness as resulting in stigma: "the situation of the individual who is disqualified from full social acceptance" (p. i). Such stigmatization "has apparently functioned as a means of removing these minorities from various avenues of competition" (p. 139). Such stigmatization and powerlessness result in the development of a subculture. "From having to face the same problems, grows a deviant subculture: a set of perspectives and understandings about what the world is like and how to deal with it" (Becker 1963, p. 38). According to Goffman, discredited individuals become disaffiliates "who come together into a subcommunity or milieu [and] may be called social deviants and their corporate life a deviant community" (p. 143). Coles (1965) stated that a subculture most definitely exists among migrants:

> Political, economic, social and cultural facts affect the lives of migrants influencing the way they act, their view of themselves in relationship to others around them, the assumptions they make about the world. Such facts also become psychological forces as they bear down and help shape the thinking of children, the behavior of parents, the experiences of both . . . a social system has developed, with its own culture and frame of mind. (p. 273)

The migrant subculture is not deviant due to rule-breaking, but rather due to its powerlessness. In describing the subculture of dance musicians, Becker (1963) could have been speaking of migrants: "Though their activities are formally within the law, their culture and way of life are sufficiently bizarre and unconventional for them to be labeled outsiders" (p. 79). Goffman (1963) described "those members of the lower class who quite noticeably bear the mark of their status in their speech, appearance and manner, and who, relative to the public institutions of our society, find they are second class citizens" (p. 146). Thus, in Becker's and Goffman's terms, migrants are stigmatized outsiders in American society whose deviant status has been created by society. The migrants' behavior, values, norms, and beliefs are learned in relation to these labels, their powerlessness, and their subculture. Coles (1965) noted: "Our observations . . . tend to indicate that migrants . . . have developed certain characteristic attitudes on the basis of their work and travel habits [emphasis his] (p. 283).

Becker noted that "the status of deviants is a . . . master status . . . one will be identified as deviant first, before other identities are made" (p. 33). He pointed out that such societal reactions have dire consequences for the deviant individual(s):

> Treating a person as though he were generally rather than specifically deviant produces a self-fulfilling prophecy. It sets in motion several mechanisms which conspire to shape the person in the image people have of him . . . one tends to be cut off, after being identified as deviant . . . from more conventional groups. (p. 34)

Coles (1965) believed such is the case with migrants:

> I fear that migrant parents and even migrant children do indeed become what some of their harshest and least forgiving critics call them: listless, apathetic, hard to understand, disorderly, subject to outbursts of self-injury and destructive violence towards others . . . I fear I am talking about millions of psychological catastrophes. (p. 76)

Goffman also believed that individuals' self-esteem is affected by such labelling and posited "two phases in the learning process of the stigmatized person: his learning the normal point of view and learning that he is disqualified according to it . . . [and] learning to cope with the way others treat the kind of person he

can be shown to be" (p. 80). Migrant children learn these things early, as illustrated by the words of a seven year old:

> My momma says we've got to be careful [about going] here and there, because we're not supposed to and we'll get in trouble. She says we should close our eyes and imagine that there's a big fence on each side of the road and we can't get off . . . [to keep] from getting in trouble. (Coles 1970, p. 102)

Coles (1965) believed such an existence results in a situation where "migrant children are brought up to have two rather explicit ways of responding to the two worlds of their family and 'others' . . . It is at times uncannily as if they had two sets of attitudes, two personalities, one for their family, one for the rest of the world" (p. 279). In discussing maintenance of social, personal, and ego identity, Goffman noted that "the individual can simultaneously sustain command over both the normal and stigmatized role" (p. 134). This "two-headed role playing" (p. 133) was illustrated by Coles in describing how migrants cope with their social world:

> With their family they will often be warm, open and smiling. At work, with strangers and often with one another while traveling or walking the streets, they are guarded, suspicious, shrewdly silent or sullenly calculating in what they do or have to say. (Coles 1965, pp. 282-283)

Thus, according to the conceptual frameworks of Becker and Goffman, the migrant subculture is most certainly a deviant one in our society. This condition has resulted from powerful agriculturalists protecting their interests, and consequential societal reaction to the status of migrants. The label of deviant is successfully applied as migrants incorporate their deviant status into their self- concepts and thus establish a deviant identity. As Coles (1965) observed: "They feel worthless, blamed, frowned upon, spoken ill of. Life itself, the world around them . . . everything that is, seems to brand them, stigmatize them, view them with disfavor" (p. 131).

## Unique Needs of the Migrant Subculture

Research focusing specifically on the characteristics of the migrant subculture substantiates its uniqueness among lower-class subgroups. Coles (1975) stated:

> The constant movement, the threat of social chaos, the cramped living and traveling, make for common problems and remarkably similar responses to them which separate . . . migrant behavior from that of the rest of the poor. Indeed, we are in general perhaps ill-advised to lump millions of poor people together--at least psychologically--on the basis of their common relative lack of income (p. 283). Migrants then, have a subculture even within that of the poor. (p. 273)

Coles (1969) further noted:

> Migrants present us with a special and awful problem even when compared to other under-priviledged groups . . . [they] have no place, however dismal, to call their own. They are uprooted . . . unlike other of our rural poor, or people in the ghettos. (p. 335)

Villemez (1975) also indicated that the behavior of migrants has been stereotyped too much in being thought of as a reaction to poverty: "'Adaptation to poverty' in all its various forms has been used as a primary explanation of behavior among migrants and other deprived groups" (p. 456). However, research on migrants often overlooks the necessity of distinguishing them from other minorities. Lutz (1974b), in reviewing migrant educational programs, concluded that "there was relatively little research that specifically dealt with the migrant child as separate from other "disadvantaged' children" (p. 5), and cautioned that migrant youth cannot be categorized with average or disadvantaged youch.

A secondary category of research deals with the specific behaviors and attitudes developed by migrants in relation to their environmental and subcultural contexts. Miriam Lewin Papanek (1974) has illustrated, in the terms of social-psychologist Kurt Lewin, that a minority subculture has specific psychological boundaries resulting in particular psychological consequences for its members. Her contention is readily borne out by various research findings. Nelkin (1969) found that the homogeneity of the migrant subculture resulted in social relationships being atomistic, contentious, and discouraging to the development of leadership, structure, and effective organization. Nelkin's further findings led her to assert (1970) that migrants' living under external control resulted in necessary and adjustive behaviors which are viewed by society as dysfunctional, such as alcoholism, gambling, volatile interpersonal relationships, and anti-social personal behaviors. Dida (1975) found that underage migrants did indeed have a high incidence of alcoholism, and

attributed the occurrence to the social conditions under which the youth grow up.

Much of the psychological and educational research on migrant youth has focused on the self-concept of this population. In studying differences among the self-concepts of settled and migrant Mexican families, Gecas (1974) discovered that the two populations have different frames of reference for self-appraisal. As reflected in the results of the administration of Kuhn and McPartland's Twenty Statement Test, migrants tend to place their identity in terms of structural sources such as name, family, and religion; settled families' identities were in self terms such as self-worth, self-competence, self-determination. Stockburger (1977) cited need assessments comparing migrant, former migrant, and nonmigrant children, which found that the migrants have "depressed self-concepts and academic disadvantages that increase with age" (p. 48). A study undertaken by the New York State Migrant Center (MACRO Educational Associates 1974) asserted that the experiences associated with the migrant lifestyle "are unique to the migrant and have the effect of shaping a certain type of self-concept in the migrant" (p. 13).

It is asserted that the migrants' transient life, family cohesion, and perception of school are the main characteristics of the lifestyle that contribute to this unique self-concept. The uniqueness lies in migrant youth having a high self-concept in relation to their family, which becomes deflated when competing in a different culture or an academic setting. This observation conforms to Goffman's (1963) idea of the "two-headed role-playing" found in stigmatized individuals. Goffman's study concluded that "uppermost in the hierarchy of priorities of educational programs for all migrants should be the enhancement of a positive self-concept" (p. 6). One of the five major areas of need for migrant children that Lutz (1974b) identified, was their self-concept. He stated that their lack of significant academic achievement leads to a reduction in self-confidence and self-respect. Feelings of insecurity and anonymity stemming from this lack of achievement, as well as from their transient lifestyle, result in migrant children feeling unwanted outside of their own community. In documenting the needs and concerns of 1,323 migrant students in twenty-six Title I programs in the state of Oklahoma, Salinas (1976) concluded that "migrant students themselves expressed low self-images of themselves as students" (p. 9). He also found that the students had many health and medical problems and a low self-image in general, due to a lack of acceptance from others.

These findings concur with the author's own observations of the migrant students at FFRTC. These students had great difficulty in organizing themselves and fulfilling leadership roles.

They often, though sporadically, displayed antisocial behavior to authorities as well as friends. Their friendships were extremely volatile and often explosive, There appeared to be a high incidence of drinking problems for their age group. They not only used others but often allowed themselves to be used by others. In counseling, there was great difficulty in dealing with self-issues and in explaining the concept of self to the students--it seemed to be a frivolous endeavor to them to even consider self-acceptance, self-competence and self-esteem. There seemed to be a general attitude towards themselves as "losers," which proved to be very nonconducive to motivation. There were extensive health problems, ranging from tooth decay to "weak blood."

Empirical research specifically on the needs of migrant adolescents, as far as a review of five years of the sociological, psychological, and educational literature revealed, is nonexistent. The only study that specifically mentioned migrant adolescents was an assessment of the migrant situation in America conducted by InterAmerica Research Associates (1976). They concluded that migrant adolescents "in secondary school face the prospect of being even more in the minority, with few other migrant students enrolled with them, and fewer programs designed to acknowledge and address their needs" (p. 204).

More specifically, Lutz (1974b) identified some of their major areas of need, in addition to improved self-concept, as (1) communication skills, in order to master language as a tool for reading, writing, and speaking, and in order to communicate feelings and thought; (2) intellectual abilities, in order to overcome difficulties in understanding abstract concepts such as space, distance, and relationships; (3) academic achievement, since migrant children are usually behind two to three years in grade achievement, due to their mobility, when compared to nonmigrant peers--a fact which seems to encourage migrant students to drop out of school; and (4) future orientation, since their lives are geared to realities and concerned with immediate needs, migrant adolescents tend to think in terms of short-range goals and day-to-day existence activities.

Such a synthesis is still general, and such generalizing will be ineffective until a fuller understanding of the migrants' psychological sufferings is gained. Becker (1963) supported such a contention in stating that:

> Studies of deviant behavior . . . [are] inadequate for the job of theorizing . . . in two ways. First, there simply are not enough studies that provide us with facts about the lives of deviants as they live them . . . Very few tell us in detail what a [deviant] thinks about himself, society, and his

> activities. [Secondly] . . . there are not enough of them. Many kinds of deviance have never been scientifically described . . . One consequence . . . is the construction of faulty theories. (pp. 166-167)

## Rationale for a Focus on Needs

As cited in the beginning of this study, needs should be the basis for program objectives, if institutional goals are to be relevant for participants (Krathwold 1964). Lutz (1974b) recommended a needs assessment prior to program development because "educational programs should deal with the social-emotional needs of the migrant" (p. 48). An appropriate model for putting migrants' needs into perspective is provided by Abraham Maslow. Maslow (1970) distinguished between a need, and motivation or desire: a need is a lack of something, a deficit state; a motive is a conscious desire, a felt impulse or urge for a specific thing (pp. 92-93). Lower needs take priority over the higher ones: "In the human being who is missing everything in life in an extreme fashion, it is most likely that the major motivation would be the physiological needs rather than any others" (p. 37). The hierarchy of needs posited by Maslow is: (1) the physiological needs, (2) the safety needs, (3) the belongingness and love needs, (4) the esteem needs, and (5) the need for self-actualization (pp. 35-47).

According to the research of Coles (1965, 1969, 1970), migrants would be somewhere near the bottom of this hierarchy, due to their physiological deficits, rootlessness, and belonginglessness. Such a perspective can also explain the lack of understanding on the part of migrants concerning self-issues. If there is a socially contingent relationship between self-concept and deviance, as proposed by Wells (1978), a possible route to alleviating the deviant status of migrants would be through their self-concepts by meeting esteem needs. Such fulfillment would have to occur in the hierarchical manner suggested by Maslow to be lasting and effective. Unfortunately, programs to assist migrants are oriented towards the teaching of vocational skills, and inadvertently overlook the other levels of Maslow's hierarchy by focusing initially on these esteem (i.e., mastery) needs. As Tiffany, Cowan, and Tiffany (1970) have asserted, the acquisition of a skill is not sufficient for improving employability, which is understandable in terms of Maslow's hierarchy. An effective program, therefore, must start with the needs of the migrants, wherever they may be located on Maslow's hierarchy, and progress upward to the point where skill acquisition can be concomitant with self-concept improvement. Programs starting in the middle of the hierarchy lack a theoretical base, and are more than likely doomed to failure.

In speaking of needs, reference will be made to individuals' problems in living due to lacks in the physical, economical, psychological, sociological, occupational, or educational realms of life. This definition will be further put into operational terms through discussion of the data-gathering instrument.

## Rationale for a Focus on Adolescents

A review of the literature provided four justifications for focusing on migrant adolescents. First, time and the U.S. Senate have proven to be ineffective in upgrading the plight of migrant farm workers in America. The 1960 and 1969 hearings before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor made it obvious that the same problems continued to exist. Solutions at the societal level seem to be ineffective. The alternative is to invoke solutions on the individual level (i.e., within the subculture). Secondly, Moerk (1972) found that change (i.e., acculturation) is possible within a minority subculture if carried by the younger generation. In accordance with Wells (1978), concerning the existence of an interactive relationship between deviance and self-concept, an improvement of the self-concept of migrant adolescents could break this interactive process and allow them to raise their status from that of deviant. Self-concept improvement can be initiated through counseling; in terms of the Maslovian hierarchy, counseling directed towards need fulfillment, including eventual training in a vocational skill if desired by the adolescent, is possible once the level of needs lacking satisfaction is assessed (Kirkpatrick 1979). Thirdly, in light of the impending mechanization of fruit and vegetable harvesting (NBC News*), it is necessary that efforts towards increasing the occupational options of migrant adolescents be initiated. Thus, this study focused on migrant adolescents' vocational training needs as being a necessary basis for training programs.

The fourth justification is found in a statement made by Coles (1965).

> Migrant children do not have the cultural accompaniment to physiological adolescence that we call 'youth.' They go directly into adulthood, with its work, marriage and parenthood, in their early teens. (p. 284)

Superficially, this statement may appear to contradict the stated necessity of studying the needs of migrant adolescents; however,

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*NBC Nightly News, November 27-29, 1978, in the program Migrants 1978.

it actually further justifies such research. If it is the case that migrants skip over the developmental stage of adolescence, then there is an even greater necessity to look at their specific needs, as these would most certainly differ from what are commonly considered to be the developmental needs and tasks of adolescence (Erikson 1968).

## Summary

Several authors assert that migrant youth differ, to a significant extent, from average and minority youth in their problems, and therefore in their needs (Coles 1965; Lutz 1974b; Sue 1978; Villemez 1975). However, no empirical findings to support these assertions were fully evident in the literature review. It is important to determine if such differences do indeed exist, because of the consequences such differences would have on (1) migrant training programs (Krathwold 1964); (2) teacher and counselor education (Sue 1978); (3) the effectiveness of counselors and teachers who work with migrant youth (Gould, in Stockburger 1977; Salinas 1976); and (4) the evaluation standards for judging this effectiveness (Bertelsen & Ganikos 1979). The available literature contains more conjectures and stereotypes than empirical findings. However, the review does suggest several areas in which these youth can be expected to encounter difficulties. This will be discussed in conjunction with the hypotheses.

# RESEARCH DESIGN

The design of this research was quasi-experimental, as no manipulation of variables occurs. The nature of this pilot project was exploratory, in an effort to determine if more intensive and extensive research is merited concerning the unique needs of migrant adolescents in vocational training programs.

## Subjects and Data

The raw data utilized were the responses of thirty-three migrant adolescents and young adults to the Mooney Problem Check List (MPCL), Form H (1950). The subjects were all of the students enrolled in a residential training center in Ocala, Florida in August 1978. The students met CETA's migrant and seasonal farmworkers' eligibility criteria. They were from urban and rural areas of Florida where they had their winter residences. Their ages ranged from sixteen to twenty; there were ten males and twenty-three females.

In order to determine if the problems of these migrant adolescents differed from those of average high school students and minority students, previously published research was utilized. Although these research results are dated, they were in complete enough form to be useful for the purposes of this study. Data for the average students were gleaned from a study of 500 high school students in Lewis County, New York (Morris 1954). The MPCL(H) was administered under standardized conditions. This study was undertaken in order to determine students' needs to assist in improving school programs. No other demographic information was given.

Data for the minority students were obtained from a study by Smith (1961) to determine the differences between the problems of rural and urban black students. Both of Smith's groups were used, as the migrant sample surveyed was primarily black, from rural and urban areas; the remainder of the sample was Chicano. Smith randomly selected 150 eleventh and twelfth graders from a urban high school and a rural high school in North Carolina.

The samples identified above are referred to here as migrants, rurals, urbans, and controls. The term controls is used when referring to the 500 students surveyed by Morris (1954) only to point out that they were a sample of average high school students not chosen due to membership in a minority subculture. It is recognized that the migrant sample cannot be considered representative of the entire migrant adolescent population, as they were not randomly selected. The selection process used by Morris (1954) is unknown. Thus, the results from this study are limited in generalizability, due to the lack of external validity resulting from the use of the intact migrant sample and the uncertainty of how Morris selected his subjects. However, since this study was exploratory, the results are considered to be suggestive rather than conclusive of the differential effect migrancy has on the counseling needs of migrant adolescents.

## Instrumentation

The Mooney Problem Check List (MPCL), High School Form (H), 1950 Revision (Mooney 1950) was used as the data collection instrument. This consists of eleven problem areas (see table 3). Each problem area has thirty statements of problems which the subject reads. If the item is a concern, it is underlined. The subject then reviews the underlined items and circles those of greatest concern. In this survey, only the underlining step was completed. Names were omitted to ensure student anonymity; however, a coding system was utilized so that students desiring counseling assistance could receive it in relation to their responses. The counselors at FFRTC were given the check lists of

their rap group members, but were unaware of which list belonged to whom. The students were advised of this ahead of time. The instrument was given with "clear and standard instructions . . . and administered under well-controlled . . . conditions" (Kerlinger 1973, p. 454) in an effort to reduce error variance and increase reliability.

The MPCL is useful as a counseling aid or survey instrument. Surveys can be conducted to aid in institutional decision making, to improve delivery of services, to identify discussion topics of common concern, to screen individuals wanting or needing counseling, and to determine common problems of particular groups. The instrument is designed so that respondents can express their personal problems. The information gained from the check list could be gleaned from counseling interviews, but the check list is a more efficient method of identifying problems, through group methods. The number of items checked should be considered a census count of the subject's problems and not as a score on a trait scale, as the check list is not a personality test designed to predict definite patterns of behavior. The check list will reveal only problems the subject is conscious of and willing to state; it was not developed to systematically probe the unconscious.

The rationale behind the choice of the instrument stemmed from the statement: "When you begin a needs diagnosis prior to training, begin with problems. Problems are easier for people to talk about and usually a lot clearer than needs" (National Student Volunteer Program 1973, p. 2). Experience has proven to this researcher that the check list, when systematically administered, is a nonthreatening tool adolescents respond to readily. It is easily administered and therefore excellent for surveys. As pointed out by its authors, "the broad coverage of the check list renders it serviceable with young people's groups . . . to show changes and differences in problems in relation to age, sex, marital status, interest patterns, socioeconomic data, and the like" (Gordon & Mooney 1950, pp. 2-3). In this study, the underlined items on the individuals' check lists were used to operationally define needs. This method of data gathering has been termed the "citizen survey approach to needs assessment" by Bell, Lin, and Warheit (1977), who believed the main advantage of this approach to be its direct collection from individuals of specific information about their own needs, rather than surveying administrators, social workers, or counselors.

There are many questions concerning the reliability and validity of this instrument. However, as Anastasi (1976) has pointed out, "while no psychometric evaluation of this instrument has been undertaken, evidence has accumulated indicating its effectiveness" (p. 495). Concerning reliability, the authors have stated:

> Since the problem world of any individual is a dynamic interrelation of changing situations and experiences, one would expect the number of items, and the specific items checked, to be somewhat different at each administration of the check list if the instrument does what it is designed to do. (Gordon & Mooney 1950, p. 3)

The items marked by the subjects are considered symbols of the experiences and situations that comprise their problem world; therefore, this problem world can be considered as constantly shifting. Just filling out the check list could alter the symbolic world; thus, on a retest different items would emerge or recede. Despite these inherent reliability evaluation problems, Mooney and Gordon (1950) concluded that even though the check lists are "designed as to reflect changing situations and experiences in the individual case, they nevertheless exhibit sufficient stability to warrant general program planning on the basis of survey results" (p. 9). They reached this conclusion on the basis of rank order correlation coefficients ranging from 0.90 to 0.98 found in a readministration of the check lists after a ten week period (pp. 9, 13). Thus, even though internal consistency methods are inappropriate and retest estimates subject to error, data gained from the check list are indicated as having considerable stability for pooled results of groups.

The authors surmised, concerning validity, that "the data must be studied in terms of particular people in specific situations. A single overall index of the validity of the check lists would therefore be quite meaningless" (Mooney & Gordon 1950, p. 3). Validity studies, ideally, would attempt to show that individuals' actual problems are related to their reported problems on the check list. Such studies would entail gaining an opinion from a therapist familiar with the inner attitudes of the subject, and judging whether this opinion correlated highly with the self-concept of the subject, as reflected through problems marked (Cronbach 1960). Such evidence is rare. Gordon did find correlations of 0.47 and 0.73 between scores on the check list and ratings by the subjects' dormitory mates (Cronbach 1960). Thus, evidence of criterion-related validity is rare and difficult to determine; however, concurrent validity, which is deemed more important and relevant for this study, has more support empirically.

A number of studies have been conducted illustrating that "the responses of selected groups, known by other criteria to have specific problems, show evidence that their problems are reflected by the check list data" (Mooney & Gordon 1950, p. 8). McIntyre (1953) reported that the check list differentiated between students from broken homes and students living with both

parents on the basis of the number of items checked. Cutsumbis (1968) found that "a pattern seemed to emerge between social class and areas of concern" (p. 579), providing a basis for differentiation among students from various social classes. Walsh and Russel (1969) determined that the check list differentiated between college students who made a congruent career choice and those making incongruent choices on the basis of personal adjustment. Deiker and Pryer (1973) found the check list differentiated between emotionally disturbed and normal adolescents. Anastasi (1976) noted that self-report inventories are often "evaluated in terms of their content validity" (p. 605). She also stated:

> One of the clearest examples of content validation in a current personality inventory is provided by the Mooney Problem Check List . . . which drew its items from written statements of problems submitted by about 4,000 high school students, as well as from case records, counseling interviews, and similar sources (p. 494) . . . Published research shows that, on the average, students check from 20-30 problems; these results suggest that the check list provides good coverage of problems that students are willing to report. (p. 495)

In light of the various controversies concerning reliability and validity, confidence in the use of the Mooney Problem Check List in this study was based on the findings about content and concurrent validities, as these were considered the most important for this research. Also, considerable support has been demonstrated for survey usage of the check list.

## Hypotheses

Due to observations from the Florida Farmworkers' Residential Training Center (FFRTC) and the assertions found in the literature review, it was hypothesized that the migrant students' ranking of problem areas would not correlate with the rankings of the rural, urban, and control samples. The migrant adolescents were expected to have a lack of problems, stemming from a lack of concern, in the area of The Future--Vocational and Educational (FVE) (Lutz 1974b). They were also expected to have more concerns in the area of Home and Family (HF) and in the area of Courtship, Sex, and Marriage (CSM) than the other samples due to their family cohesiveness and the fact that they marry younger (MACRO Educational Associates 1974; Coles 1965). The area of Personal-Psychological Relations (PPR) was expected to be the

largest problem area for migrant adolescents, reflecting low self-concepts (Stockburger 1977). Such low self-esteem is attributed to deviant identity resulting from stigmatization (Becker 1963; Goffman 1963), as well as poor academic achievement (Salinas 1976). This problem area would also reflect the constant mood swings (Coles 1965) postulated as occurring in response to their lifestyle. The migrant adolescents were also expected to evidence many problems in the area of Social-Psychological Relations (SPR) due to social alienation resulting from their powerlessness (Becker 1963), stigmatization (Goffman 1963), and belonginglessness and rootlessness (Coles 1965). These factors were expected to affect their interpersonal relationships, as well as their ability to communicate, resulting in friendship problems (Nelkin 1969; Lutz 1974b).

In the area of Health and Physical Development (HPD), the migrant adolescents were expected to have many problems resulting from lack of medical care and proper nutrition during childhood (Coles 1965; Salinas 1976). Migrant youth could be expected to have many academic concerns, as Cardenas (1976) found that migrant children "underperform all others in school, have the highest drop-out rates, lowest achievement levels, and the most failures" (p. 1). Lutz (1974b), Stockburger (1977), and Cardenas (1976) also discuss the many difficulties migrants encounter in education. Concerns with such problems would be expressed in the area of Adjustment to School Work (ASW) and in the area of Curriculum and Teaching Procedure (CTP). It could also be expected that migrant youth would evidence a greater number of problems than the other samples, given their being a minority within a minority--i.e., not only are they poor and stigmatized, but they are constantly mobile and often stateless.

Lutz (1974b), in discussing the need for research on the specific needs of migrant youth as distinct from other disadvantaged youth, warned that "separate study makes sense only to the degree the characteristics of the migrant group that deviate systematically from other populations can be identified. Future research should be based on specific hypothesized differences in those characteristics" (p. 16). In accordance with these recommendations, the following hypotheses were tested.

1. No correlation will be found between the counseling needs, as reflected by ranking of problem areas, of migrant adolescents and those of urban black, rural black, and the control high school adolescents.

   1a. The problem area of The Future--Vocational and Educational will be ranked lower by the migrant adolescents than by the other adolescent samples.

1b. The problem areas of Home and Family, and Courtship, Sex, and Marriage will be ranked higher by the migrant adolescents than by the other adolescent samples.

2. The highest ranked problem area of the migrant adolescents will be Personal-Psychological Relations.

3. The second highest ranked problem area of the migrant adolescents will be Social-Psychological Relations.

4. The problem areas of Health and Physical Development, Adjustment to School Work, and Curriculum and Teaching Procedures will be among the five top-ranked problem areas of the migrant adolescents.

5. The migrant adolescents will indicate a greater number of problems than the other adolescent samples.

## Analysis

Spearman's rank differences correlation method (rho) was used in the statistical analysis of the data. Being a non-parametric measure, it doesn't depend on a normal distribution; its basic purpose is to determine if two rankings of the same cases are similar. Rho was utilized to determine if the different samples ranked the problem areas in a similar manner. This measure was chosen because it only requires the use of rankings, rather than the absolute values of the variables, in the computation of the coefficients (Nie et al. 1975). Since the published studies included only means or total responses, this measure is most appropriate. Furthermore, Guilford and Fruchter (1973) have pointed out that rho is good to use when the number of comparisons is less than thirty, as is the case with these data which have eleven problem areas to be ranked. Fisher (1973) added that the use of correlation coefficients "will be found useful in the exploratory stages of an inquiry" (p. 177), which was the purpose of this study. A one-tailed test of significance was used, as the alternative hypotheses are directional. The significance of the correlation is tested to determine if there is any substantial evidence of association; if the correlations are found significant, the rankings of the problem areas by the samples are considered associated in their occurrence. A lack of significance indicates a lack of such association (Fisher 1973). The size of the correlation indicates the degree of similarity in the samples' rankings. If the coefficient is low, there is a large amount of dissimilarity; if it is high, there is a large amount of similarity (Stanley & Hopkins 1972). In this study low, nonsignificant correlations were sought because it was hypothesized that these samples vary independently of each other, having more problem areas not in common than they have in common.

The mean number of problems checked per student for each sample was calculated in an effort to determine if there was a difference in the number of problems reported by each sample group. No statistical manipulations were conducted, due to the lack of appropriate data. This procedure therefore served as an indicator of trends.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The first hypothesis is accepted. No significant correlations between the counseling needs, as reflected by ranking of problem areas, of migrant adolescents and those of rural black, urban black, and control high school adolescents were found (see table 1). None of these coefficients are significant at the 0.05 level (one-tailed test) as the coefficient needed for this is 0.6021 (Fisher and Yates 1963). Therefore, these four samples are considered to be more dissimilar in their ranking of the problem areas than they are similar. This is suggestive of different hierarchies of problems among the four different samples.

TABLE 1

SPEARMAN CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
(Between Migrants and Others)

| | |
|---|---|
| Controls | 0.32 |
| Rurals | 0.08 |
| Urbans | 0.14 |

The acceptance of this hypothesis indicates a lack of association among migrant, rural, urban, and the control adolescents' hierarchies of problems. This suggests that their needs do differ as postulated by Sue (1978), Villemez (1975), Lutz (1974b), and Coles (1965). The trends indicated by the correlations are provocative. Migrants were most like the controls in their ranking of the problem areas and least like the rural blacks, then urban blacks. The literature review indicated that most authors and researchers assume the opposite--that migrants have the least in common with average adolescents and the most in common with minority adolescents. This is not to say there are no significant differences in the needs of these populations, but to highlight the real danger inherent in basing programs on stereotypical thinking. Since the correlations indicated the trend of migrants being more like the controls in their selection

of problem areas, the twenty problems most often checked by the migrants and the controls are listed in table 2. (Note that individual respondents did not rank the problems they selected according to their importance; the table shows problems rank ordered by frequency of selection by the group.) As shown, these two samples had only seven problems in common among their top twenty. Overall, the problems of the migrants seem to be of a more personal nature while the problems of the controls appear to be more closely related to academic matters as is indicated by the migrants' top-ranked problem being "Worrying" and the controls' top-ranked problem being "Not spending enough time in study."

Age may be considered a confounding variable in the ranking differences found between the samples. Morgan (1969) concluded, from his review of studies using the MPCL, that some change occurs in problems perceived by adolescents as they advance in their teens. The migrant sample did include subjects over eighteen, beyond the typical age of senior high school students, thus the differences could be attributed to some of the migrants being older. However, such an explanation is in direct opposition to another finding of Morgan's study that "the most notable aspect of the administration of the MPCL to different age groups is the decline in the mean number of problems for older students" (1969, p. 120). As indicated in figure 1, the migrants, although some were older students, marked more problems in all areas except Adjustment to School Work, and Curriculum and Teaching Procedures. Since the migrants also indicated a larger number of perceived problems than did the controls and rurals, as table 3 illustrates at the bottom, the evidence is that age was not a confounding variable in this case.

Hypothesis 1a. is rejected. Although the problems of the Future--Vocational and Educational (FVE) ranked ninth for the migrants, which is quite different from the third and 3.5 rank for the rurals and controls, FVE also ranked ninth for the urbans. However, support for Lutz's (1974b) postulate that migrants lack an orientation to the future due to their day-to-day struggles is still evident. This lack of future-orientation may also reflect the migrants' feelings of powerlessness.

Hypothesis 1b. is rejected. The migrant students did not evidence considerably more concerns in the areas of Home and Family (HF) and Courtship, Sex, and Marriage (CSM), as was anticipated. This was somewhat surprising given that over half (17) of this sample were single parents. The migrants did indicate two specific concerns. Table 2 illustrates that the items "Worried about a member of the family" and "Deciding if I'm in love" were among the twenty problems most often checked by the migrants. However, the HF area ranked tenth for the migrants, seventh for the rurals, and eleventh for the urbans and controls.

TABLE 2

TOP TWENTY PROBLEMS CHECKED BY MIGRANTS AND CONTROLS
WITH PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS RESPONDING

| MIGRANTS | | | CONTROLS | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Item # | Item | Percentage | Item # | Item | Percentage |
| 30 | Worrying | 54.5 | 50 | Not spending enough time in study | 44.7 |
| 116 | Wanting to earn some money of my own | 51.5 | 116 | Wanting to earn some money of my own | 34.1 |
| 190 | Having feelings of extreme loneliness | 51.5 | 158 | Not interested in some subjects | 34.1 |
| 299 | Finding it hard to talk about my troubles | 51.1 | 270 | Worrying about examinations | 32.4 |
| 119 | Needing to find a part-time job now | 48.5 | 14 | Trouble in keeping a conversation going | 30.0 |
| 121 | Nothing interesting to do in my spare time | 45.5 | 329 | Lunch hour too short | 29.3 |
| 211 | Trouble with mathematics | 45.5 | 26 | Losing my temper | 29.9 |
| 196 | Can't forget some mistakes I've made | 45.5 | 85 | Not taking some things seriously enough | 27.6 |
| 316 | Not knowing what I really want | 45.5 | 45 | Wanting advice on what to do after high school | 27.6 |
| 36 | Worried about a member of the family | 39.4 | 104 | Trouble with oral reports | 27.3 |
| 81 | Daydreaming | 39.4 | 322 | Just can't get some subjects | 27.3 |
| 111 | Not as strong and healthy as I should be | 39.4 | 138 | Afraid of making mistakes | 27.0 |
| 26 | Lose my temper | 36.4 | 241 | Wanting to be more popular | 26.2 |
| 28 | Being nervous | 36.4 | 28 | Being nervous | 25.5 |
| 138 | Afraid of making mistakes | 36.4 | 76 | Wanting a more pleasing personality | 24.9 |
| 183 | Deciding if I'm in love | 36.4 | 120 | Needing a job during vacation | 24.2 |
| 195 | Unhappy too much of the time | 36.4 | 30 | Worrying | 23.8 |
| 213 | Weak in spelling or grammar | 36.4 | 2 | Being overweight | 23.5 |
| 276 | Poor teeth | 36.4 | 213 | Weak in spelling or grammar | 23.5 |
| 133 | Feelings too easily hurt | 33.3 | 27 | Taking some things too seriously | 22.8 |

CSM ranked somewhat higher (eighth) for the migrants. For the rurals, urbans, and controls, it ranked 4.5, fifth and 8.5 as a problem area.

The second hypothesis is accepted. The Personal-Psychological Relations (PPR) problem area ranked highest for the migrants (see table 3). As shown, an average of seven problems were checked per student in this area which distinguishes it greatly from the other areas. PPR appeared to be an area of high concern for all of the adolescent samples. However, it was of greater concern to the migrants, as depicted in figure 1. The rationale for hypothesizing PPR as the top-ranked problem area for migrant adolescents is Becker's (1963) theory that the label of deviant becomes internalized by members of a deviant subculture, a deviant identity develops, and a low self-concept results. Coles (1963) also refers to the psychological catastrophes that the migrancy lifestyle brings about. A comparison of tables 2 and 4 demonstrates that many items in this area were checked by both the controls and the migrants. However, the percentages differ. Most noticeable is the item "Worrying," which was the problem most often checked by the migrants (54.5 percent) and thus the top item in PPR, while only 23.8 percent of the controls checked it. Also, the migrants indicated that they were "Unhappy too much of the time" and thus "Daydreaming" was a problem for them; neither of these items were among the top twenty problems of the controls. As Coles (1965) pointed out, mood swings do appear to be a problem for the migrants as indicated by "Moodiness, 'having the blues'" being one of the most often checked items in the area of PPR. Low self-concept was illustrated by 25 percent of the migrants checking the item "Sometimes wishing I'd never been born."

The third hypothesis is accepted. The Social-Psychological Relations problem area was second highest for the migrant adolescents (see table 3). Comparatively, this area presented many more problems for the migrants than for the rurals, urbans, and controls. The rationale for hypothesizing that SPR would rank second for the migrants is based on their being members of a deviant subculture and their alienation resulting from this stigmatized status. The items most often checked by the migrants in the SPR area, as shown in table 4, support this rationale. One of the top two items, "Finding it hard to talk about my troubles," supports Lutz's (1974b) contention that migrant students lack the skills needed to communicate their feelings and thoughts, as does another item frequently checked: "Feeling that nobody understands me." The fact that these adolescents feel alienated in our society is poignantly illustrated by the other top item being "Having feelings of extreme loneliness." As Nelkin (1969) proposed, migrant adolescents do seem to have friendship problems, indicated by items such as "Feelings too easily hurt" and "Being timid or shy." Other items checked most

TABLE 3

RANKING OF PROBLEM AREAS BY THE FOUR SAMPLES
(With Average Checks per Student)

| Problem Areas | Migrants | Rurals | Urbans | Controls |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Health and physical development (HPD) . . . . . | 7 (4.6) | 6 (.93) | 6 (2.98) | 8.5 (.93) |
| Finances, living conditions and employment (FLE) . . . | 3.5 (4.8) | 1 (1.2) | 4 (3.56) | 7 (2.7) |
| Social and recreational activities (SRA) . . . . . | 5 (4.7) | 8 (.83) | 8 (2.96) | 3.5 (3.3) |
| Courtship, sex and marriage (CSM) . . . . . | 8 (4.5) | 4.5 (.99) | 5 (3.40) | 8.5 (2.5) |
| Social-psychological relations (SPR) . . . . . | 2 (5.0) | 9 (.81) | 10 (2.78) | 5 (3.2) |
| Personal-psychological relations . . . . . | 1 (7.1) | 4.5 (.99) | 3 (3.70) | 2 (3.5) |
| Morals and religion (MR) . . | 3.5 (4.8) | 10 (.79) | 7 (2.96) | 10 (2.0) |
| Home and family (HF) . . . . | 10 (4.2) | 7 (.89) | 11 (2.35) | 11 (1.2) |
| The future--vocational and educational (FVE) . . . . . | 9 (4.3) | 3 (1.05) | 9 (2.91) | 3.5 (3.3) |
| Adjustment to school work (ASW) . . . . . | 6 (4.7) | 2 (1.13) | 1 (4.41) | 1 (5.0) |
| Curriculum and Teaching Procedure (CTP) . . . . . | 11 (2.5) | 11 (.78) | 2 (4.14) | 6 (2.8) |
| TOTAL AVERAGE CHECKS PER STUDENTS . . . . . | 51.09 | 33.15 | 52.68 | 32.00 |

Figure 1

SCATTER PLOT OF MEAN NUMBER OF PROBLEMS
CHECKED PER AREA BY THE FOUR SAMPLES

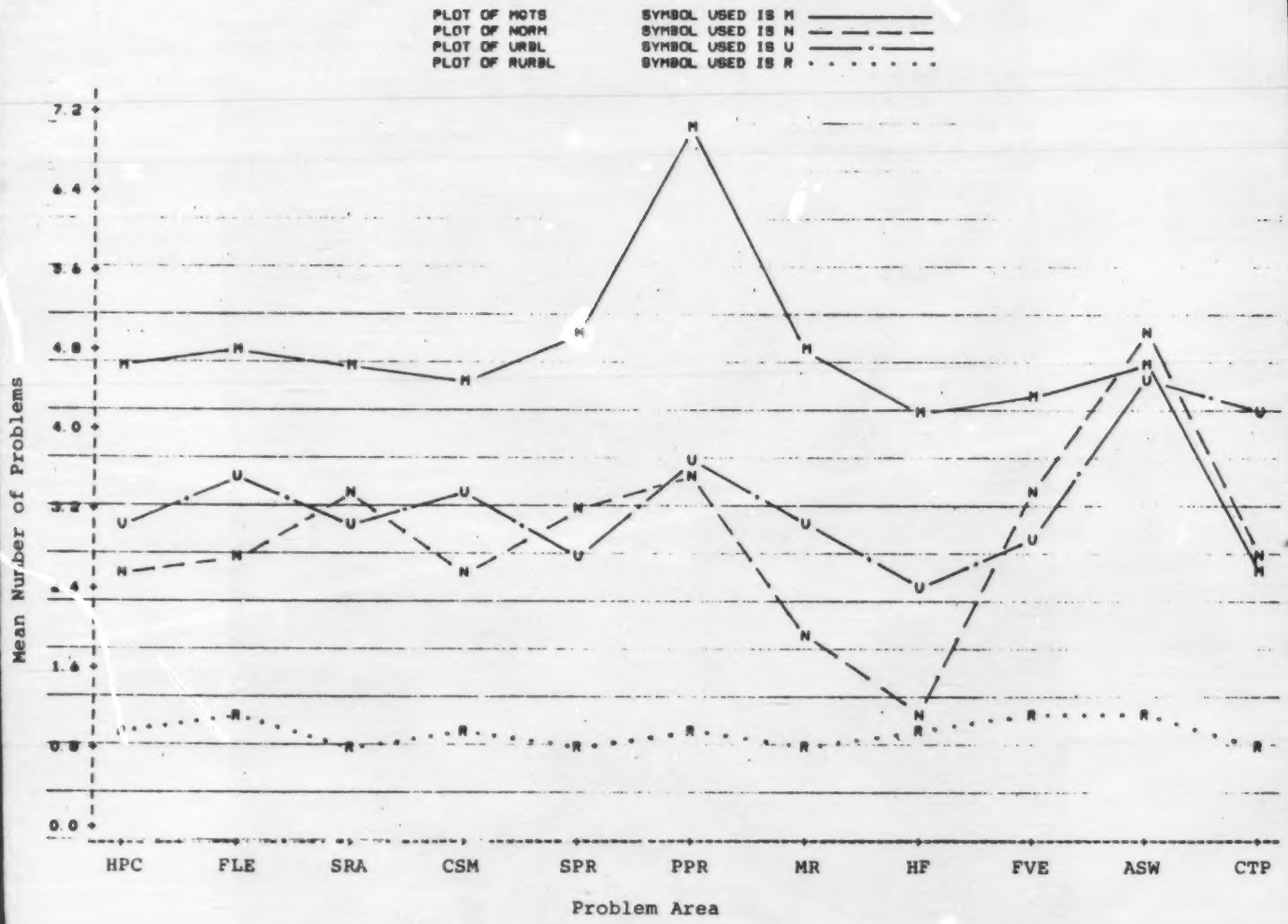

TABLE 4

ITEMS MOST OFTEN CHECKED BY MIGRANT ADOLESCENTS
IN THEIR TWO HIGHEST-RANKED PROBLEM AREAS

| AREA RANKED #1: PERSONAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL RELATIONS | | | AREA RANKED #2: SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL RELATIONS | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Item Number | Item | Number Responding | Item Number | Item | Number Responding |
| 30 | Worrying . . . . . | 18 | 299 | Finding it hard to talk about my troubles . . . . . | 17 |
| 81 | Daydreaming . . . . . | 13 | 190 | Having feelings of extreme loneliness . . . . . | 17 |
| 28 | Being nervous . . . . . | 12 | 133 | Feelings too easily hurt . . | 11 |
| 26 | Losing my temper . . . . . | 12 | 78 | Worrying how I impress people | 10 |
| 138 | Afraid of making mistakes . . | 12 | 25 | Being 'different' . . . . . | 7 |
| 195 | Unhappy too much of the time . | 12 | 132 | Being timid or shy . . . . . | 7 |
| 136 | Moodiness, 'having the blues' | 9 | 188 | Being watched by other people | 7 |
| 137 | Trouble making up my mind about things . . . . . | 9 | 298 | Feeling that nobody understands me . . . . . | 7 |
| 140 | Sometimes wishing I'd never been born . . . . . | 9 | | | |
| 246 | Being stubborn or obstinate . | 9 | | | |
| 85 | Not taking some things seriously enough . . . . . | 9 | | | |

often in this area reflect the other resultant problems of being an "outsider" (Becker 1963) in our society: "Being 'different'," "Being watched by other people," and so on.

The fourth hypothesis is rejected. The problem areas of Health and Physical Development (HPD), Adjustment to School Work (ASW), and Curriculum and Teaching Procedures (CTP) were not among the five top-ranked problem areas of the migrant adolescents. In accordance with Coles (1965) and Salinas (1976), the migrants demonstrated health concerns. However, HPD ranked seventh for the migrants, while for the rurals and urbans it ranked sixth. For the controls, HPD ranked 8.5 and, as can be seen from table 2, their only major health concern was "Being overweight." This was in contrast to the health concerns among the migrants top twenty problems, which included "Poor teeth" and "Not as strong and healthy as I should be."

Contrary to the assertions of Lutz (1974b), Cardenas (1976), and Stockburger (1976), academic achievement was not viewed as a major problem by these migrants (see table 3). The ASW problem area ranked second for the rurals, first for the urbans and controls, and only sixth for the migrants. Although academic achievement is thought to be one of the major problems of migrant students by the cited researchers, this migrant sample did not perceive this to be one of their largest problem areas. This is not to say that they didn't experience academic problems, but that they didn't consider their academic difficulties to be of great importance relative to their other problems. Such an assumption seems warranted in light of the fact that many of the students were having difficulty in school at the time of this survey. Two possible explanations for this finding are proposed. First, as mentioned previously, in terms of Maslow's need hierarchy, these students were perhaps struggling with needs lower on the hierarchy. For instance, their unmet need for belongingness may block their being able to focus on the fulfillment of esteem needs, such as academic achievement. Thus, academic problems would not be as pressing to them as their interpersonal problems. Secondly, the migrants may not value an education to the same degree that the other samples do. Many of the migrants had dropped out of school at least two years before attending the training center because they could help their families more by being in the fields than in the classroom. Because of the lower value placed on education in their families, these migrant students may have simply decided that school wasn't worth being a problem.

There is support for Lutz's (1974b) contention that migrant students have difficulties in the area of intellectual abilities, such as understanding abstract concepts. Table 2 illustrates this, as "Trouble with mathematics" and "Weak in spelling and grammar" were both included among the twenty problems checked

most often by the migrants. However, Curriculum and Teaching Procedures (CTP) ranked lowest (eleventh) for the migrants and rurals, sixth for the controls, and second for the urbans. This further illustrates the migrants' lack of academic concern. It was interesting to note that the two CTP items most often marked by the migrant students were "Made to take subjects I don't like" and "Wanting subjects not offered by the school." This could be considered illustrative of the lack of relevancy attributed to migrant training programs (InterAmerica Research Associates 1976). The low ranking of this area may also reflect the students' attitudes of powerlessness to do anything about teaching procedures and curriculum offerings, which consequently result in apathy.

The fifth hypothesis is rejected. Although a greater number of problems were checked by the migrants than by the rurals and controls (see table 3), the urbans matched the migrants in this respect. It should be noted that at least 50 percent of the migrant sample resided in urban centers during the off-season, which may explain this finding. The similarity between the low average number of problems of the controls and rurals is also striking. A possible explanation of this trend is that migrant and urban-dwelling youth are subject to more stigmatization due to their minority status being more visible. This could indicate that their type of community is a determining factor in respect to the number of problems of which these youth are aware. Perhaps rurals do not feel the same degree of stigmatization due to their relatively isolated life-style. Such an interpretation is tentative, however, as the number of problems checked may actually reflect surgency and drive or a response set.

## RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of this exploratory study are suggestive of significant differences existing between the problems of migrant adolescents and average and other minority adolescents. More extensive and intensive research is therefore indicated. Such research should be guided by limitations of this study. Current surveying of the comparison samples should be undertaken, as using previously published studies may have had a confounding effect on the results. Current testing would also enable the researcher to use other statistical methods, as the necessary raw data would be available. One method that could be particularly instructive is discriminant analysis, with step-wise selection criteria, as it would provide an excellent means for discerning which items are best-discriminating variables between the migrant sample and the comparison samples. Another recommendation concerns the instrumentation. Although the exploratory nature of this study made the MPCL appropriate, an additional need-oriented

instrument such as the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (Edwards 1954), should be considered. Such an instrument is recommended, in addition to the MPCL, due to its previously discussed utility with adolescents, as well as its concreteness in lending direction to administrative planning.

An intact migrant sample is not representative enough to allow generalization of this study's findings to all migrant adolescents. The subjects were unique from other migrant adolescents by virtue of their being enrolled in the training program. The results of this study, therefore, can be reliably generalized only to migrant adolescents in training programs. However, the focus of this research concerns the needs of migrant adolescents in vocational training programs because these are the only migrant adolescents with whom counselors are apt to have contact. Thus, the focus herein was on their counseling needs, and the intact sample is recommended as most relevant. In addition to this relevancy, the use of intact samples of migrant students avoids the practical problem of gaining entrance to migrant labor camps to test the adolescents therein.

In conclusion, this study's findings lend support to Coles' (1965) assertion that our society is ill-advised to psychologically lump persons together due to their commonalities of being poor and members of minorities. Therefore, it is strongly recommended tht all programs serving members of a minority subculture closely scrutinize their objectives in relation to the assessed counseling needs of their participants. The MPCL provides a quick, inexpensive, and informative method for surveying these needs. Its use not only can assist administrators in determining the relevancy of their programs, but can bring about a rapid increase in morale. Such was the case at the Florida Farmworkers' Residential Training Center, since items frequently checked, which were within the staff's control, were immediately dealt with--e.g., the establishment of a Bible study class, increased recreational activities, greater responsibility given to student government, and attention to students suffering from health problems previously unrecognized by the staff. Also, the Center's counselors believed that their rap groups became much more meaningful as they were able to determine highly relevant topics from analyzing the check lists of their group members; the students' enthusiasm for group counseling appeared to increase as well. These changes also seemed to aid the students in becoming less alienated as the program became more relevant to their needs.

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